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ABSTRACT

The impact of education on the lives of Indian women who attended Kinnaird College in British India is examined. The lives of 468 of the 1,544 women listed in the admissions register from 1913 to 1947, or about a 30 percent non-random sample, are the basis of the study. Alumnae records were examined, and personal interviews were conducted with former staff members and students. Chapters I, II, and III focus on Kinnaird College itself. Nineteenth century attitudes toward female education are examined, the 20th century intellectual and institutional environment in which Kinnaird College developed is analyzed, and the Kinnaird college life style is described. Chapters IV and V trace the interaction of individual women, their families, and the college. College education profoundly affected some women by affording them a greater range of behavioral options. However, the majority of the women did not stray far from the well-established Indian ideals of self-sacrifice and subservient womanhood. Chapter VI analyzes the changes which Kinnaird College underwent between 1947 and the present. (RM)

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Women Between Cultures:

The Lives of Kinnaird College Alumnae in British India

Michelle Maskiell

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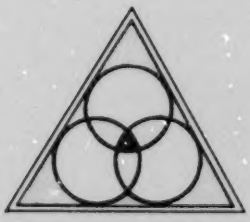

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Women Between Cultures:

The Lives of Kinnaird College Alumnae in British India

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for

Billy G. Smith

and

all of my families

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PREFACE

Over the last thirty years, a number of scholars have analyzed colonial education as a social control mechanism, as well as using it to explain how colonized people assimilated, adapted or rejected Western political, economic and social values.[1] British officials introduced English-language education in early nineteenth-century India to create "intelligent and zealous cooperators" with British rule.[2] Imported education carried with it elements of British cultural chauvinism and racism which posed serious social and psychological challenges to individuals who participated in the new schools and colleges. While Western educational innovations helped the British recruit Indian males to staff their administration, they complicated what David Kopf characterizes as "the intricate problem of identity" for educated individuals of all political persuasions.[3] Most recently, Kopf and others have used theories as widely divergent as Erik Erikson's on identity crisis and Kay Boals' six types of colonial consciousness to explain the complex processes by which elite groups in British India reintegrated their impugned cultural identities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[4]

In the 1960s and early '70s, scholars demonstrated how men from regional elite groups with traditions of literacy achieved a share of government employment and political influence through English-medium education. These historians viewed the voluntary religious and social reform organizations such men founded at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras primarily as models for the nationalist organizations which followed them.[5] Social historians in the late 1970s shifted their focus from the political stage created by the Raj to the regional theaters where revitalization of cultural identities was acted out. Still, the political consequences of reformist activities attracted attention. David Lelyveld analyzed what it meant to be a Muslim "in the context of a colonial restructuring of political institutions" for those intimately connected with the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh.[6] Kenneth Jones explained how Punjabi Arya Samaj Hindus reintegrated a regional cultural identity battered by British conquest and criticism, and the ways they expressed this refurbished Hindu consciousness through education and political activities.[7]

As evident in studies such as those by Lelyveld and Jones, nineteenth-century women participated in British Indian

public life only indirectly, either behind the scenes in politically important families (socializing children or influencing husbands), or as the passive objects of male-directed social reform. Lelyveld emphasized the influence of elite Muslim women in the family life of political leaders, and Jones argued that Hindu women's education reflected the social aims of male reformers. Nineteenth-century reformers did not directly address women's status within the family, but concentrated instead on ending *satī* (the immolation of widows on their husbands' funeral pyres); abolishing female infanticide; promoting Hindu widow remarriage; raising the age of consent for sexual intercourse (as part of the campaign against child marriage); and ending purdah (female seclusion). While a few women such as Ramabai Ranade described the process of being "reformed" by their husbands, we have largely indirect evidence of the changes nineteenth-century reform movements wrought in women's lives.[8]

Voluntary religious and social reform organizations throughout British India generally promoted women's education, although the type of education advocated varied according to the organizations' particular social goals. Nineteenth-century girls' education ranged from the Urdu, Persian, writing, arithmetic, needlework and religious studies of the Punjabi Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam primary schools to the liberal arts curriculum of Bethune College, founded by liberal Brahmo Samajists at Calcutta.[9] Early reformers often promoted women's education to train them to be better wives and mothers, not to educate them in academic subjects.[10] Even twentieth-century male reformers did not want to alter their own dominant positions within their families when they advocated education for their daughters.[11] Only a minority sent their daughters to schools and colleges which taught them Western subjects in the English language.

Studies of women's higher education have generally followed political histories in idealizing the leaders of organizations and the founders of new institutions while ignoring the lives of the women who were affected by increasing educational opportunities.[12] There has been no systematic attempt to study a group of educated women in the past or to assess the impact of education on their lives. Men and women experienced Western education very differently in nineteenth-century India because gender clearly divided both ideal roles and actual behavior of all social groups into public and domestic dimensions. At the end of the nineteenth century, what little of the public and political world was controlled by Indians belonged to men. Yet women gradually moved into public life through school attendance, voluntary social reform work, women's clubs, nationalist organizing, and paid employment. Western education spread vertically through generations of elite families, eventually reaching women. Early twentieth-century, Western-educated women, atypical as

they were, did more than symbolize their male relatives' commitment to "progress." They took over the struggle to attain a better overall status for women.

To understand which women were recruited for higher education and the impact such education had on their lives, I compiled a collective biography of college alumnae spanning the period from 1913 to 1947.[13] This study of Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore, Pakistan, and of its alumnae, employs both a quantitative analysis of the college admissions register and a qualitative examination of additional institutional sources, alumnae records, and personal interviews with former staff members and students. The lives of 468 of the 1,544 women listed in the admissions register from 1913 to 1947, or about a 30 percent non-random sample, comprise the basis of this study.

The first three chapters focus on Kinnaird College itself, presenting an institutional slice of colonial education. Chapter I examines nineteenth-century attitudes toward female education and girls' schools and traces the slow growth of new institutions. Kinnaird grew out of Christian missionary work in the late nineteenth-century Punjab. The chapter outlines provincial government policies which affected mission schools and teachers' training programs, and briefly considers aspects of education in Britain which influenced Punjabi developments.

Chapter II analyzes the twentieth-century intellectual and institutional environment in which Kinnaird College developed. The changing goals of Protestant mission education in the Punjab were important because of Kinnaird's early institutional and financial mission ties, while the aims of Punjab University officials affected the college through the university's curricular control. However, under Principal I.T. McNair, Kinnaird College achieved considerable independence within both the mission and the university networks.

Students at Kinnaird College imbibed a distinct college ethos, which is the subject of Chapter III. The college lifestyle, designed for Punjabi Christians, seemed like personal freedom to many young women from Hindu, Sikh and Muslim backgrounds and offered them non-academic moral and civic lessons. Missionary teachers first taught Western, Christian ideals to a Christian student body, but by the 1930s and '40s, they inculcated a Hindu student majority with the same values. Discussion of this college ethos concludes the first part of the book.

Chapters IV and V, the alumnae collective biography, trace the interaction of individual women, their families and the college. This study of alumnae lives illustrates that college education profoundly affected some women by affording them a greater range of behavioral options. A few alumnae

enjoyed highly individualistic careers, taking advantage of new opportunities and inventing others. But the majority did not stray far from the well-established ideals of self-sacrificing and subservient womanhood, which continued to be highly regarded and rewarded by twentieth-century Punjabi society. Chapter VI analyzes the changes which Kinnaird College underwent between 1947 and the present.

Compared to later students, the first generation of Kinnaird alumnae -- those who attended between 1913 and 1928 -- included the largest number of single women and the greatest proportion of women with life-long careers in either voluntary social work or salaried employment. Their social roles resembled those filled by college-educated women in America twenty to thirty years earlier. The first generation of Bryn Mawr and Wellesley graduates experienced the highest rate of employment and the lowest proportion of marriages; the second generation increasingly married and stayed home. Roberta Frankfort argues that American higher education for women "did not permanently challenge the domesticity cult." Instead, it prescribed "a role of subservience and dedication to the home and family for women."[14] It may be that in both America and South Asia, the economic opportunities were too limited and the psychological price too high to lure many early graduates away from primarily domestic roles as long as cultural ideals, educated role models and tangible rewards all reinforced passivity and dependence.

While the first Kinnaird graduates made choices apparently similar to those made by the first group of college-educated American women, the experiences of Punjabi women differed significantly from their male counterparts within their own class and time. According to Judith Walsh's recent study of the psychological consequences of growing up in British India, the first college-educated men encountered an attack on their self-worth by their texts and teachers, as well as cultural isolation. Even so, Walsh argued that British cultural chauvinism expressed through Western educational institutions created "its most serious and long-lasting impact not on the first generation exposed to its lessons, but only with the internalization of its values and directives during the childhood of the second."[15] First generation males might choose either rebellion against their families' religious and cultural lifestyles or accommodation of West and East, but their sons lacked "a clear sense of the distinction between the two cultural traditions to which they were heir." The second generation lost "unity of ideology, behavior, and custom."[16] Walsh's explanation of this generational process, however, suffers from the bias of her sources as well as an ahistorical approach, and minimizes one of the most important psychological components of childhood -- the role of the mother.

Early Kinnaird alumnae were not usually plagued by self-doubt or cultural isolation comparable to the experiences of educated elite men. While the economic and social dependence of elite Punjabi women carried significant liabilities, their very "embeddedness in social life" gave them a psychological security which elite men often lacked.[17] On the other hand, English-educated Punjabi women of all communities did face a gender-specific challenge, that of reconciling socially expected female passivity with the demands of a new model for elite family life. This nuclear model started to find expression in late nineteenth-century Punjab, owing in part to the British. As Gail Minault has noted, "Indian liberals sought in their private lives to respond to the ideological pressures of British rule, just as they had sought in their public lives to respond to its economic and political pressures."[18] By the early twentieth century, the Punjabi elite family model included a father employed in a Western-style profession, a mother who was a partner in the social demands of her husband's employment, and educated children of both genders. These educated women participated in creating the new family norms. In essence, they led the reintegration of family behavior threatened by the lost unity of ideology, behavior, and custom which Walsh described.

The overwhelming majority of Kinnaird alumnae did not lead public lives, yet they represented much of the human capital in which Punjabi social and religious reform groups invested to reshape the private part of their cultural identities. Women's higher education was generally a Punjabi class marker, demonstrating that a family was "progressive" or "enlightened." Women's higher education was never meant to challenge women's structural position in a gender-segregated society, and Kinnaird alumnae by and large submitted to the economic and social controls imposed initially by their parents and later by their husbands and parents-in-law. The crucial new ingredients women's higher education brought to male-dominated family relationships were enhanced female self-confidence, and often the professional qualifications to work outside of the home. These enabled women to support themselves financially and potentially to sever insupportable relationships. The first college-educated women were not role models for all of Punjabi society; they were too marginal for that. However, the life experiences of Kinnaird College alumnae and their female relatives increase our understanding of how early college-educated women contributed quietly but significantly to twentieth-century regional social change.

This book would not have been possible without the help of the Kinnaird College staff and alumnae. Mira Phailbus, the college principal, allowed me to live in the Staff House in 1975-76, 1977, and again in 1982-83. She also helped me to

contact alumnae and introduced me to various officials in Lahore. Margaret Silson, the principal's secretary and representative of the Bible and Medical Missionary Fellowship in 1975-76, offered friendly help in the college office. Of the resident staff, Kauser Sheikh and Shireen Daskawie gave me lively companionship and valued friendship during several research trips to Lahore. Former Principal Priobala Mangat Rai introduced me to her predecessor, I.T. McNair, and afforded me many valuable insights into college history. Dorothy Boswell, Secretary of the BMMF in London, opened the BMMF and ZBMM "library" for my use, and generally aided my work in London. Many other former staff members and alumnae answered questions and offered lavish hospitality. I am grateful for all their help.

A Fulbright-Hays Predoctoral Fellowship funded my initial research trip to Lahore in 1975-76. A travel grant from the South Asia Regional Studies Department at the University of Pennsylvania financed additional research in Lahore and London in 1977. I am grateful for both grants as well as the financial support of Billy G. Smith, which enabled me to rewrite the manuscript.

It is a pleasure to mention those who helped me over the long incubation period of this book. My earliest debt is to Dr. Usha Agarwal, a senior research associate of Jawaharlal Nehru University, and her mother, Mrs. C.K. Masson of New Delhi. They gave me initial lessons on Hindu women's roles, and their family has treated me like a member since I first entered their home. When I was at the University of Pennsylvania, Tom Kessinger, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Pete Churchill and Loren Michael read my dissertation drafts and made helpful comments. David Ludden was generous with unflagging advice, criticism and support. Barbara Metcalf, having read several revisions of this work, deserves special thanks for both patience and excellent suggestions. Karen Leonard, Gail Minault and Robert Frykenberg encouraged the project, while Sandria Freitag, Adrienne Mayor, and the Emma Goldman branch of the MSU Women Writers' Union contributed to the long process of revision. Billy G. Smith has done so much to help me finish the book that I cannot even begin to list his contributions. I would like to dedicate the book to him and to my American and Indian families, who have listened to me talk about this project off and on for almost a decade.

Notes to Preface

1. Remi Clignet considers various theoretical approaches to colonial education in "Damned If You Do, Damned If You Don't: The Dilemmas of Colonizer-Colonized Relations," in *Education and Colonialism*, ed. Philip G. Altbach and Gail P. Kelly (New York: Longman Inc., 1978), pp. 122-45.

2. Charles E. Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, 1838), pp. 189-90, as quoted in Aparna Basu, "Policy and Conflict in India: The Reality and Perception of Education," in Altbach and Kelly, p. 58.

3. David Kopf, *The Brahmo Samaj and the Shaping of the Modern Indian Mind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. xiii.

4. David Kopf recognizes the limitations of Erikson's theories, yet finds them useful in his study of the Brahmo Samaj; Judith Walsh employs the theories of Erikson and others to explain "the psychological consequences of growing up in British India for those who had to combine the heritage of their traditional world with the pressing realities of foreign power and Western education." See *Growing Up in British India: Indian Autobiographers on Childhood and Education under the Raj* (New York and London: Holmes and Meier, 1983), p. ix. Gail Minault cites Kay Boals' six types of consciousness in "Introduction: The Extended Family as Metaphor and the Expansion of Women's Realm," in *The Extended Family: Women and Political Participation in India and Pakistan* (Delhi: Chanakya Publications, 1981), fn. 10, p. 16.

5. The significance of the reform movements as precursors of the nationalist movement is discussed in A.R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1966), and Charles Heimsath, *Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964). Various studies examine the relationship between English education and regional elites, including J.H. Broomfield, "The Regional Elites: A Theory of Modern Indian History," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* III (September 1966): 279-90; Ellen E. McDonald [Gumperz] and Craig M. Stark, *English Education, Nationalist Politics and Elite Groups in Maharastra 1885-1915*. Occasional Papers of the Center of South and Southeast Asian Studies (Berkeley:

University of California Press, 1969); and Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971).

6. David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. vii.

7. Kenneth W. Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in Nineteenth Century Punjab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

8. Ramabai Ranade, *Himself, The Autobiography of a Hindu Lady*, trans. Katherine Gates (New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1938).

9. Gail Minault, "Purdah's Progress: The Beginnings of School Education for Indian Muslim Women," in *Individuals and Ideas in Modern India*, ed. Jagdish P. Sharma (Calcutta: Firma, KLM, 1982), p. 87. Kopf describes the founding of Bethune College in 1878 and conflicting Brahmo ideas about women's education in *The Brahmo Samaj*, pp. 34-41.

10. For the interest in reform as a feature of Indian social history, see S. Natarajan, *A Century of Social Reform in India* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1962). An excellent regional study that explains the popularity of girls' education through its promise to create better wives and mothers is Karen I. Leonard and John G. Leonard, "Social Reforms and Women's Participation in Political Culture: Andhra and Madras," in *The Extended Family*, ed. Gail Minault.

11. Kay Boals, "The Politics of Cultural Liberation: Male-Female Relations in Algeria," in *Liberating Women's History*, ed. Berenice A. Carroll (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), pp. 202-6.

12. Of course, a few famous women are always described in such studies. See Y.B. Mathur, *Women's Education in India, 1813-1966* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1973) or Pratima Asthana, *Women's Movement in India* (Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1974). One exception to this general pattern is Rama Mehta's study *The Western Educated Hindu Woman* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1970).

13. Michelle Gibson Maskiell, "Women's Higher Education and Family Networks in South Asia: Kinnaird College, Lahore, 1913-1960" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1979).

14. Roberta Frankfort, *Collegiate Women: Domesticity and Career in Turn-of-the-century America* (New York: New York University Press, 1977), p. 83.

15. Walsh, *Growing Up in British India*, p. 131.

16. Ibid., p. 132.

17. Nancy Chodorow, "Family Structure and Feminine Personality," in *Woman, Culture, and Society*, eds. Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louis Lamphere (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), p. 62.

18. Minault, "Introduction," p. 8.

INTRODUCTION

Kinnaird was the first women's college in the Punjab. In 1913, the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission (ZBMM), a British mission devoted to work for Indian women, started college classes at Kinnaird Christian Girls' High School in Lahore, the provincial capital of the Punjab. The founders wanted to give Christian Punjabi women the opportunity to increase their professional qualifications as teachers. Yet questions about women's intellectual capacity to do college work and about the relevance of college experience for women continued to provide decades of debate among provincial government officials, social reformers and Christian missionaries alike.[1]

Such debate hampered the institutional development of women's higher education in the Punjab, and encouraged the provincial government to experiment with education for women that was not intellectually equal to that for men. Provincial education officials consistently established less rigorous academic standards for females than for males. In 1913, the Governor General of India set the policy that "the education of girls should be practical with reference to the position they will fill in social life" and "should not seek to imitate education suitable for boys nor should it be dominated by examinations."[2] During the 1920s and '30s, university officials supported a special provision for women's domestic training as part of the Punjab University's liberal arts curriculum.

Over time, the Kinnaird College staff enlarged its original goal of providing professional training for Punjabi Christian women to include providing a liberal education for all women, regardless of religious community. The staff initially equivocated on the issues of domestic training at college and women's ability to undertake rigorous academic work. After 1929, Principal I.T. McNair strongly supported women's intellectual equality with men and worked to repeal university regulations based on gender. The Kinnaird staff subsequently focused student life and extracurricular activities on teaching women to be responsible citizens as well as informed teachers or English-literate housewives. In short, Kinnaird offered students moral and civic lessons as well as academic ones. This "social training" at Kinnaird became a central attraction for the non-Christian families that sent their daughters to the college.

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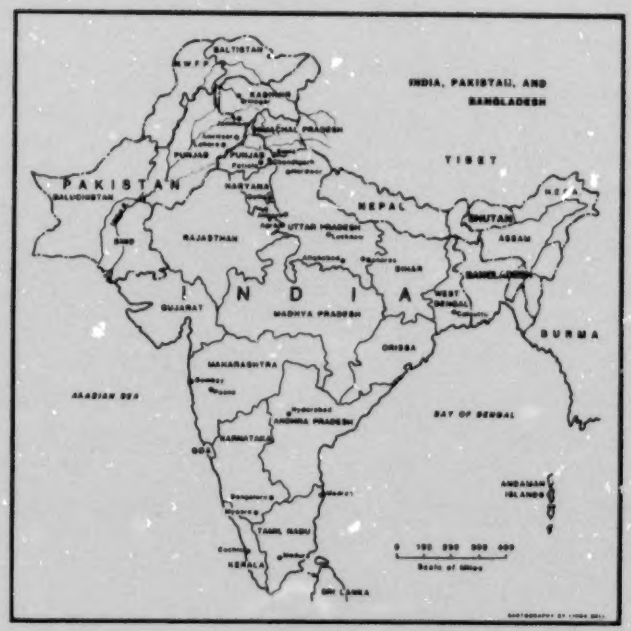

Illustration 1

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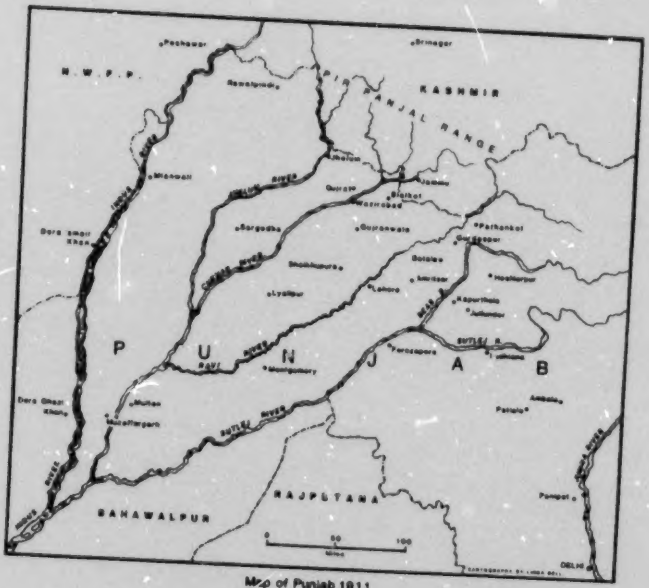


Map of Punjab 1911

Illustration 2

Politics and Society in the Punjab

The Punjab was on the periphery of British India in the mid-nineteenth century. Lahore missed much of the social and religious reform activity that animated regional elites in early nineteenth-century Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. When the British annexed this region of northwest India in 1849, Lahore became the provincial center for the imperial government and the cultural center for new English-educated Punjabi elite groups. The Arya Samaj and other sectarian groups chose Lahore as their headquarters in the northwest, and the city was filled with sectarian debate and activity.

A ring of new suburbs around Lahore expressed the economic expansion brought by the colonial economic system, and provided both physical and intellectual space for the lifestyles of a new class of Hindus.[3] These families had taken advantage of the nineteenth-century institutional innovations brought by the British. Their sons had learned English, shared an exposure to European values, and entered new employment both in the professions and in British government service. In the twentieth century, these same Hindu families started to send their daughters to Kinnaird College.

Politically and economically, Lahore has been the queen city of the Punjab for centuries. Its population has included Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, all maneuvering for political or economic advantage for their own groups. When the British established English-language educational institutions at Lahore and made Western college degrees a prerequisite for the higher levels of government service, interreligious competition entered a new arena.[4] This communal rivalry and its accompanying political struggles ultimately led to the withdrawal of the British and the partition of the Punjab between India and Pakistan. After 1947, Lahore was the capital of Pakistan's half of the Punjab. English-language education continued to be one of the most important legacies of colonial rule, and English-educated Muslim families formed the political elite of Pakistan in the 1950s.

Socially, late nineteenth-century Punjab was a collection of local, diverse networks rather than a homogenous unit. Hindu, Sikh, Muslim, Christian and other religious groups each had their own social hierarchies determined by economic, linguistic and geographical factors. Punjabi Hindus and Sikhs were socially divided into endogamous, ranked caste and subcaste groups. Muslims and Christians were also divided along hierarchical lines. At the top of the Muslim ranking were the *ashraf* (people who are *sharif*), while Christians were subdivided roughly according to the social groups from which they converted.[5]

Purdah and Gender-Segregated Education

Purdah, the system of restrictions on female activities intended to draw a sharp line between the roles of men and women, affected the lives of all middle- and high-status Punjabi women. Literally meaning "curtain," purdah designates the wide range of modest female behavior that secluded women within a domestic sphere in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and that still colors the lives of most South Asian women. Details of contemporary purdah practices vary greatly according to region and religious community, but "feminine seclusion and veiling are integral aspects of patterns of economic activity, kinship structures, inheritance rules, social hierarchy and religious ideology" throughout South Asia.[6]

Many mothers of the first Hindu, Sikh and Muslim students at Kinnaird College abided by purdah customs. For wealthy *sharif* Muslims, this meant seclusion in the "separate world" of the *zanana* (the women's part of the household), to shelter themselves from interaction with all males outside of certain carefully defined categories of kin.[7] Muslim girls started observing purdah before or at puberty, and Kinnaird Muslim alumnae commonly wore a burqah (a tent-like garment for concealment in public) when they were students. Hindu and Sikh high-status women, in contrast, did not begin to observe purdah customs until after their marriage, if they observed them at all.[8] However, alumnae spoke of a "purdah mentality" which limited social interaction even within families where women were not secluded. Christian women, while they did not observe purdah themselves, usually found their employment opportunities confined to gender-segregated institutions like schools and hospitals, which conformed to the purdah customs of the majority communities. Obviously, while purdah was especially strict for wealthy Muslims, the norms of gender segregation underlying purdah affected a large proportion of the Punjabi population.

Another cultural condition limiting education and professional opportunities was the dominating influence of the family. Men as well as women were expected to fulfill the needs of the family, as determined by Punjabi male elders, before fulfilling their personal desires. As Manisha Roy puts it, "[the extended family system] must sacrifice the whole satisfaction of one individual, either on the structural or psychological level, so that other members in different roles may be at least partly satisfied."[9] Thus, individual choice by an alumna in matters of marriage or employment usually counted less than her family's wishes.

The little education available for nineteenth-century Punjabi women was firmly rooted in a women's network. Indigenous education was simple religious instruction given at

home to a few upper-class Muslim, and sometimes Hindu and Sikh, girls. Literacy was uncommon but not unknown.[10] Most girls remained at home without formal education and their socialization was limited to the life experiences of their mothers and close family members. As might be expected, the most common lessons taught female submissiveness, passivity and dependence.

Protection and restraint in childhood encouraged dependency throughout women's lives. All communal groups participated in systems of arranged marriages that valued young brides, and a young woman's dependence was transferred early from her natal to her conjugal family. As sociological studies suggest, the greater the individual dependence on the family, the greater the likelihood of role performance in congruence with conventional norms.[11] This tendency characterized all middle- and high-status Punjabi women regardless of communal group. Submissive, passive and dependent behavior was rewarded socially and economically.

The type of education given to any Punjabi child was a family decision, since, as stated above, the most important social unit was the family rather than the individual. Order of birth often made a difference in a daughter's educational chances. The eldest daughter would usually have an arranged marriage while still in her teens. The better the proposed marriage, the more likely a family would cut short her education. A younger daughter would be allowed to receive a longer period of education and delay her marriage. Often this reflected the father's growing influence among the elders of the family. The more established he was professionally, the easier it would be for him or his wife to postpone a younger daughter's wedding. The pattern was probably also connected with a tendency toward indulging the youngest (or only) daughter, a common practice among all Punjabi groups. Parents often wanted to keep their youngest daughter at home as long as possible, and her continued education would be an excuse for this. A few early twentieth-century Punjabi families included fathers who had received an English education and who wanted their daughters "to do something new," as one early alumna described her father. Sending daughters out of their homes to school was a dramatic departure since purdah demanded that they stay protected at home. The fact that some girls' schools created a purdah atmosphere outside of the home unquestionably encouraged Punjabi families to send their daughters to school.

Acceptance of institutional education came slowly to families accustomed to only domestic roles for their women. College education for a daughter usually followed at least one generation in which women had received only primary education before marriage. Kinnaird College students came from particular types of families, those that chose an English-language

education for their daughters. Kinnaird students were part of a tiny privileged group, and expectations for these young women were quite different from expectations for ordinary Punjabi women. In fact, one could trace a stratification of expectations for women's education and adult gender roles, closely following the social stratification within each community. College-educated women tended to stretch the boundaries of women's conventional domestic roles, but they did not break out completely.

Men seeking careers in the professions -- law, medicine and engineering -- were required to attend English-language educational institutions, but why did prominent Hindu, Sikh and Muslim families choose to send their daughters out of their homes to English-language schools? What social values did these families attach to an investment in such education for their daughters? How did college education change expectations for daughters? How did it subsequently affect their adult gender roles? The experiences of Kinnaird College alumnae provide a manageable body of data to suggest how women's education became a variable in twentieth-century social change.

Women's educational institutions and families that allowed their women to attend them evolved side by side in the Punjab. This interactive process is artificially divided in the following discussion into two parts: the development of women's schools and an analysis of the influence of education in the lives of a select group of women. There is no attempt to establish education as the cause for change in women's lives. Women's higher education was as much a result of prior changes in families that chose to educate their sons in Western institutions as it was a cause of new opportunities in women's lives. However, English education was a central core around which convoluted social processes moved.

Notes to Introduction

1. For a full discussion of this debate, see Michelle Maskiell, "Women's Higher Education and Family Networks in South Asia: Kinnaird College, Lahore, 1913-1960" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1979), pp. 11-17, 33-36.

2. *Indian Education Policy*, being a resolution issued by the Governor General in Council, 21st February 1913, p. 16.

3. Kenneth Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in Nineteenth Century Punjab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), pp. 58-61. Also, Prakash Tandon, *Punjabi Century, 1848-1947* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), p. 182.

4. One description of this process can be found in Kenneth Jones, "Communalism in the Punjab: The Arya Samaj Contribution," *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXVII (November 1968): 39-54.

5. Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims all practiced arranged marriages. I have used the term "sub-castes" to refer to those social divisions within which marriages were arranged. For example, Hindu sub-castes are the Punjabi *got* of a particular family. Caste groups, such as Khatri or Kashmiri Brahmin are named specifically in the text whenever appropriate. Muslim informants suggested that Sayyid lineages among them insisted on endogamous matches, especially for daughters, more often than other lineages. For Hindu and Sikh marriage sub-castes, see H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province* (Patiala: Languages Department, Punjab, 1970). This is a reprint of the 1911-1919 edition. For Muslim family patterns among the *ashraf*, see David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 35-56. For Christian social divisions, see Maskiell, p. 64. Actually, Kinnaird informants provided many examples of marriages outside of endogamous groups.

6. Doranne Jacobson, "Purdah and the Hindu Family in Central India," in *Separate Worlds: Studies of Purdah in South Asia*, ed. Hanna Papanek and Gail Minault (Columbia, MO: South Asia Books, 1982), p. 85. See also Sylvia Vatuk,

"Purdah Revisited: A Comparison of Hindu and Muslim Interpretations of the Cultural Meaning of Purdah in South Asia," in Papanek and Minault, pp. 56-57.

7. Hanna Papanek, "Purdah: Separate Worlds and Symbolic Shelter," in Papanek and Minault, pp. 3-53; and Lelyveld, pp. 35-56.

8. Jacobson in Papanek and Minault, pp. 81-109.

9. Manisha Roy, *Bengali Women* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 2. See also Tom G. Kessinger, *Vilyatpur, 1848-1968: Social and Economic Change in a North Indian Village* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 177-84.

10. When they had received some education, Muslim women were generally literate in Urdu and Persian, Hindu women were literate in Hindi, and Sikh women were literate in Punjabi. See Y.B. Mathur, *Women's Education in India, 1813-1966* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1973), and Maskiell, pp. 12-13.

11. Arthur Lewis Wood, *Deviant Behavior and Control Strategies: Essays in Sociology* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1974), pp. 53-57, 68.

I

NINETEENTH-CENTURY ATTITUDES TOWARD FEMALE EDUCATION AND GIRLS' SCHOOLS

Kinnaird College's development in the twentieth century was rooted in the remnants of late nineteenth-century attitudes toward girls' schools, which in turn grew out of Punjabi views of women's proper roles. Few nineteenth-century Hindus, Sikhs or Muslims questioned that a woman's sphere was in the home, and that the purpose of female education was to train literate wives and mothers. The British government's overall policy, which promoted higher education in the English language focusing on Western subjects such as European history, fostered neglect of female education because no nineteenth-century Punjabi social group advocated university education for women. Only Western Christian missionaries, in their desire to train Punjabi Christian women to staff local mission schools, promoted female higher education and envisioned it leading to public employment for women.

The British introduced new subject matter and new educational institutions after they annexed the Punjab in 1849. Previously, provincial educational institutions were organized along sectarian lines, notably the Muslim *madrasa* and the Hindu *pathsala*, and were nearly exclusively confined to males. Purdah norms required strict gender segregation and female seclusion, encouraging female illiteracy even among those sectarian groups that educated young men. Indigenous education for women, consisting of simple religious instruction at home, was confined to some upper-class Muslim girls and a few Hindu and Sikh girls as well. While Punjabi groups provided a limited transmission of cultural learning to girls, after the British annexed the province the process of female education gradually changed from training at home to instruction at school. In the nineteenth century, primary girls' schools, founded to prepare women for their private roles as literate wives and mothers, and normal schools to prepare teachers for public employment, comprised the basic institutional innovations for female education.

Most girls' schools bore little relation to higher educational institutions in the Punjab until well into the twentieth century. Christian mission schools gradually expanded from primary to middle and high classes, and finally to Kinnaird College classes at Lahore in 1913, forming the only

vertical system for women's education in the province. While the government did open a secondary school in the late 1880s and an intermediate women's college at Lahore in the 1920s, it did not found secular primary schools for girls in the Punjab. The Arya Samaj (Society of the Aryas), an aggressive Hindu religious reform society, and the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam (Society for the Defense of Islam), both established girls' primary schools before the turn of the century, a few of these later expanding to include secondary classes. Divided opinions on educational goals among provincial officials, Christian missionaries, and Punjabi social reformers, coupled with public indifference to education for young women, all retarded the institutional development of female education and determined its anemic condition in 1913.

The Punjab Government's Education Policies

The Wood Despatch of 1854 established the general educational guidelines for all of British India, and these were followed by the provincial government of the Punjab. The Despatch stipulated that the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras were to be the apex of an hierarchical educational system for boys. While offering "frank and cordial support" for female education, it did not sanction a similar system for girls. The Despatch created a Director of Public Instruction to oversee the inspection of both boys' and girls' schools founded by private agencies, and issued grants-in-aid to schools which met stated criteria, including certain academic standards.[1]

The provincial government's response to one of the central tenets of the Wood Despatch illustrates the preferential treatment accorded male education. The Despatch urged cultivation of the vernacular languages (Urdu, Hindi and Punjabi), although the language of instruction and examination at the university level was to be English. In 1859, the Punjab Education Department established a vernacular school system for boys, based on instruction in Urdu, and thereafter financially assisted Christian mission Anglo-vernacular schools for boys.[2] No parallel system was established for girls. The provincial government continued to support private agencies in spreading female education instead of directly financing government schools for girls.

During the 1860s, a handful of British provincial officers and their wives encouraged local dignitaries to establish primary schools for girls. A Captain Elphinstone, for example, was commended in 1861 for starting 29 girls' schools in Jullunder District.[3] In 1863-64, the Director of Public Instruction reported enthusiastically on 223 schools for girls "entirely under the management of committees of Native Gentlemen" at Lahore and Amritsar. Yet these "Elementary

Female Schools" were shortlived. In the evaluation of one historian, "many gentlemen of position . . . who had interested themselves in the movement [for female education] had done so more from loyalty than from conviction. . . ."[4] The lack of sustained interest in the subject and the unwillingness of local subscribers to pay their pledged support led one official to conclude that "the best hope for the education of women in India is from the exertions of Christian ladies."[5] Indeed, one group of provincial officials and their wives, believing that missionary education was the best option for women, actively patronized mission schools rather than new institutions.

Flora Annie Steel (1849-1929), the energetic wife of a British official posted in the Punjab, was a committed advocate of non-mission girls' schools. Steel arrived in Kasur as a bride of 20 and wherever her husband was transferred, she encouraged local leaders to establish municipal girls' schools. In the late 1880s, the government reluctantly recognized her efforts by offering her the post of "Inspectress of Female Schools." Steel described in her autobiography the inadequacies of the girls' school primers and the limited achievements of the students. She cited the following story from the Persian primer to demonstrate its inadequacy: "A man accused another man before a judge of having stolen his male donkey. The accused replied by showing his only donkey, which was female; on which the plaintiff remarked that his donkey after all had not been such a very male one."[6] One of Steel's self-appointed first tasks as inspector was to rewrite the school primers, enlisting the help of John Kipling to illustrate them. In the non-mission female schools, Steel found "an alphabet class of two or three dozen, then perhaps a medium class of half-a-dozen who could, with difficulty, spell through the first primer." There were also "two or three older girls who could recite the Persian primer" who were "gathered from the households of the [local leaders] or nobility or from the teachers' family." Steel found the girls' mission schools "the only ones that counted" but, characteristically, had several criticisms of their operation. Her policies were often controversial, as when she provoked missionary educators "by refusing to grant government aid to any school which actually paid its pupils to attend -- though this was fairly common missionary practice in the East."[7] While unpopular in official circles because of her strong-willed policies, not to mention her allegations of maladministration at Punjab University, Steel did become the first female member of the Punjab Education Board before she left the Punjab in 1889. After returning to England, Steel published collections of Punjabi folk tales and several novels about life in India. Like most people who do not follow the gender roles of their times, Steel's colorful career in the Punjab was an individualistic achievement rather than a model for other British officials' wives, but her recommendations

for girls' schools were eventually implemented by the provincial government.

Although a few of them or their wives personally encouraged the establishment of girls' schools, provincial government officials did not attempt to change the social position of Punjabi women through education. The provincial government was particularly influenced by the views of important landed elite groups.[8] While sometimes eager to educate their sons, this stratum of society was indifferent or hostile to the education of their daughters. In addition, all sectarian groups agreed that respectable women should confine themselves to domestic roles, for which education was considered irrelevant. As long as most middle- and upper-class Punjabi families expected their female members to follow traditional roles, the government was willing to support education for Punjabi males and to slight educational opportunities for Punjabi females.

The Need for Female Teachers and the Development of Normal Schools

Despite overall neglect of female education, the British government cautiously searched for the conditions which would encourage Hindu, Sikh and Muslim Punjabi families to send their daughters to school. A British Government Education Commission toured India in 1882, seeking ways to improve the educational system. G.W. Leitner, Director of Oriental Learning at the University of the Punjab, testified before the commission, criticizing the standards set by the provincial government whereby private girls' schools qualified for financial grants-in-aid. While government officials encouraged Urdu as the vernacular language for instruction in girls' primary schools, Leitner felt that Punjabi was the preferable language, so that mothers could help instruct their children. The government also insisted that private agencies locate girls' schools in public places and allow regular inspection by male officials, but Leitner maintained that this encouraged a situation unacceptable to the parents of upper-class girls.[9] Leitner was biased toward Punjabi indigenous education and gave partisan testimony, but he did contribute to the commission's finding that female teachers and inspectors were necessary to attract girls from the middle and upper classes to school. The commission also prescribed separate standards, simpler for girls than for boys. As a result of the commission's recommendations, the provisions for grants-in-aid were eased, scholarships and concessions in fees were increased, and female inspectors were employed.[10] But these measures failed to convince many Hindu, Sikh or Muslim families to enroll their daughters in the available schools.

Several years later, after the Local Self-Government Acts of Lord Ripon (1883-85), municipalities and rural boards

gained some financial responsibility for local affairs, and Punjabi officials turned their attention to primary education for both boys and girls. These first secular primary girls' schools had poor facilities and were not patronized by families of the "respectable classes." Six district or municipal board primary schools served only 256 female students in Lahore District by 1911. More popular were both private institutions independent of government aid, and schools directed by Christian missions or other sectarian organizations which were inspected by provincial officials and received government support. In 1911, 92 elementary private institutions with 2,445 girls enrolled appeared in District records. These private schools controlled their own curricula, which usually included religious instruction. There were also 28 government-aided primary schools, which met the criteria of Punjab's Director of Public Instruction, and had a total female student body of 2,065.[11] However, all of these students represented only a small fraction (perhaps 4 percent) of the female school-age population in the province.[12]

The Punjab government was drawn into supporting institutions for women's higher education through its insistence on trained teachers for government-aided girls' primary schools. Initially, officials did not coordinate primary education for girls with schools at a higher level.[13] Realizing that the number of girls who would finish primary school was dramatically less than the number who enrolled, officials regarded both a higher retention rate and increased enrollment at the primary level as the foremost educational priorities. But trained female teachers were required to popularize and extend primary girls' schools throughout the province.[14]

The central problem was that too few qualified women were both available and willing to teach in girls' primary schools. Neither missionary nor private normal schools were able to train enough women to fill even the limited number of positions in nineteenth-century girls' schools. In 1863, British missionaries established the first teachers' training school at Delhi, then still part of the Punjab. Private normal schools appeared at Lahore and Amritsar in 1865, and at Sialkot in 1869, all inspected and aided substantially by the government. For example, although the Female Normal School at Lahore was under the direction of a "native committee," the provincial government paid most of the school's expenses. The Director of Public Instruction decided in 1873 that the publically funded but private normal schools were not providing enough trained women who were willing to teach.[15]

Consequently, the provincial government slowly built its own institutions for teacher training. The first government-controlled class was organized at Lahore in 1889. It met at the Victoria Girls' School, a secondary school reorganized by Mona Bose only two years earlier.[16] In the 1920s, training

classes attached to a second government institution, the Lady Maclagan Girls' School, replaced this original class as well as the other non-missionary normal schools in Lahore. Teacher training then remained at the Lady Maclagan School, where the University of the Punjab recognized courses leading to the Bachelor of Teaching degree in 1935.[17]

Mona Bose (1864-1931), one of the most influential women in government educational work in Lahore, recalled early efforts to train teachers:

> No children were sent to school in those old days [before 1887]. A few elderly women were collected together, and, with the assistance of stipends, were taught in the hope that they would become teachers in the elementary schools.[18]

But these tactics were largely unsuccessful. Widows and needy non-Christian women were drawn slowly into teaching. As long as purdah confined respectable Muslim, Hindu and Sikh women to their homes, only elderly women without families, or the desperately poor, would risk even their nominal social standing by becoming teachers.

The gradual success of the government's educational institutions for women largely depended on the personal efforts of women like Mona Bose. Bose was a second-generation Christian who received teachers' training at London in the mid-1880s. After she and her sister moved into the old Sikh palace housing the Victoria School, she attracted students by making friends in the neighborhood. Besides teaching Sunday School, Bose also gave lectures to purdah audiences and belonged to a Purdah Club, activities which reached out to women isolated in their homes.[19] In addition, she sometimes acted as assistant inspector of schools.[20] Bose personalized the development of the Victoria School, establishing a reputation that both attracted the daughters of well-known families and gave credence to curricular innovation at the school.[21] In the 1920s, Bose capped her long career in government service as supervisor of both the Victoria School and the Lady Maclagan School, and she helped as well in establishing an intermediate college for women in 1922.

Despite the efforts of a few individuals like Bose, the provincial government treated women's education as a step-sister to men's education in the Punjab. Both the number of government educational institutions and public financial support lagged far behind that for males. As early as 1859, for example, the provincial government established a vernacular school system for males; no parallel system was ever organized for females. The Lahore College for Women opened almost sixty

years after the opening of Government College for men at Lahore. The sexist nature of the government's own educational goals only partly accounted for this neglect of women's educational institutions. Unless its own policy needs dictated innovation, as in the creation of a pool of English-literate candidates for government service, the late nineteenth-century provincial government followed a very conservative social policy. Since most Punjabis envisioned a narrow domestic role for women, the provincial government was unwilling to lead the way in challenging widespread social practices.

Christian Mission Girls' Schools

Christian missionaries in nineteenth-century Punjab wanted to change people's lives. The missionaries' goals consisted of proselytization and then training their converts to staff mission institutions. Individual missionaries were not constrained by local expectations for women's roles in the same way government officials were. Early Christian converts worked for the missionaries and filled their churches and schools. However, Punjabi Christians did not adopt Western social norms wholesale. Converts retained customs from their natal sectarian groups, and the social position of Christian women remained influenced by purdah norms.

American and British missionary societies were the first private agencies to receive extensive financial aid for schools from the British provincial government. Starting before the British annexed the Punjab, the American Presbyterian (AP) Mission established a network of Anglo-vernacular schools.[22] As one historian expressed it, the Presbyterians brought "their evangelistic objectives, . . . their educational skills and resources, and . . . their desire for access to the 'respectable classes' of urban Indian society" to the region.[23] The AP Mission and its later Christian allies became particularly concerned about reaching the daughters of the "respectable classes."

The Indian Female Normal School and Instruction (IFNSI) Society, a British missionary society supported by the Church of England, cooperated with the AP Mission in the 1860s and '70s to develop Anglo-vernacular schools for girls. In 1881, the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission (ZBMM) assumed the evangelical efforts of the earlier IFNSI Society in the Punjab.[24] The program of the ZBMM was threefold:

> (1) To send to the women of India the Gospel, by means of Female Missionaries;
> (2) To alleviate their sufferings in sickness, and minister to their spiritual need, through the agency of duly qualified Lady Medical Missionaries;

> [and] (3) To promote Education specially amongst the higher classes, based on Holy Scripture.[25]

A number of agencies carried out the mission's program: the "Zenana Missionaries; Medical Missionaries; Native Bible Women" (local Christian female evangelists); the "Female Normal Schools" (for teacher training); and the "Hindu and Mohammedan Female [primary] Schools." The ZBMM centered its medical work elsewhere, but Lahore became one of the centers for educational work. Kinnaird College grew out of this early work for women.

Evangelical work among Lahore's women started in 1863 when a local female Christian convert was hired to read the Gospel to women secluded in the female portion of their homes (the *zanana*). Four years later, an English missionary began *zanana* visitations. Combined with this visiting and casual teaching of upper-class women in their homes, the missionary instituted a series of purdah schools in the oldest part of the city. Separate Hindu and Muslim schools were established, instructing girls in a vernacular (usually Urdu) and sometimes a classical language (Persian), and teaching needlework and knitting skills.[26] Even though girls were paid to enroll in these schools, most attended for only a short period. The ZBMM supervised six such schools in 1881 -- two for Hindus and four for Muslims -- with local women teaching more than two hundred girls.[27]

These efforts of the ZBMM met with minimal success. *Zanana* visitations and mission purdah schools not only reached relatively few girls and women, but the impact on their lives was small. Assessing the results of these primary schools in 1899, the ZBMM sent a female missionary to visit former pupils. She found that the lives of the majority were unchanged by the experience. Some had married into families hostile to missionary teaching and were forbidden to talk to the missionary. Others had left school early and had forgotten everything they had learned. Only a handful retained some of the teaching and were eager to learn more if the opportunity arose. Discouraged with this report, the ZBMM closed these purdah schools.[28]

Only two groups of families in Lahore initially were willing to receive visiting *zanana* missionaries. The first were Bengali families who had migrated to the Punjab in search of positions in the subordinate Civil Service. Missionaries saw these families as an entree into local society. As one of them observed,

> Wherever the *zenana* missionaries have been located the Bengali families have supplied a base of operations from

> which work has been extended to the indigenous population. The diffusion of the educated Bengalis in North India has thus served as a providential preparation for the extension of the work.[29]

The Bengalis in Lahore included Christian converts of Alexander Duff and other missionaries who had proselytized around Calcutta.[30] While missionaries overestimated the extent to which such migrants could allow their message to permeate Punjabi society, the Christian Bengali migrant families eventually comprised an integral part of the local educated Christian community.

Families committed to English-medium education for their sons constituted the second group receptive to *zanana* visitors. Missionaries viewed the English college in Lahore as the "precursor" of the Zenana Mission.[31] During the first flush of their enthusiasm for English education and Western ways, some Punjabi men allowed their wives and daughters to meet with Christian missionaries. In fact, these families sometimes sent their daughters to Christian mission schools, as will be discussed in a later chapter. Many non-Christian Punjabi men who were educated in Christian mission institutions retained great respect for them, and some sent both sons and daughters to mission schools.[32]

The most successful and long-lasting institutions for female education supervised by the ZBMM were those established to educate Christian converts. A committee of American Presbyterians, British missionaries and Punjabi Christians founded a school for Christian girls at Lahore in 1864. The daughters of Bengali Christian migrants and local converts and orphans formed the student body. Until 1873, the school was identified with the AP Mission and was known as the Lahore Native Christian Girls' School, or the Naulakha Girls School. In 1873, two English missionaries reorganized the institution as a normal school to train Christian teachers, and it attracted Christian students from Hoshiarpur, Delhi, and Ludhiana, as well as Lahore. Five years later, 47 girls were enrolled, but the number declined temporarily when the Lady Superintendent and most of the students moved to Amritsar in 1879. When the ZBMM formally assumed control of the school in 1882, however, 39 boarders and 12 day students were in attendance.[33]

This school differed in several respects from the primary schools for Hindu and Muslim girls later abandoned by the ZBMM. It was Urdu-medium in the lower section, with an English-medium class for the elder girls. This education in English qualified the schools' senior students for the examinations given by the University of the Punjab. In 1886,

a graduate of the renamed Lahore Native Christian Girls' School became the first woman in the province to pass the matriculation examination of the University, an event which added greatly to the schools' popularity.[34] Since Anglo-vernacular schools could prepare female students for the examinations of the University of the Punjab, they potentially could link female primary education with the system of higher education for males established by the provincial government. While such a link seemed superfluous for women's educational institutions in the 1880s, it had an important role in the later development of female education.

Christian missions founded separate schools for local Christian girls throughout the Punjab. The Church Missionary Society (CMS), for example, established the Alexandra Girls' School at Amritsar in 1878 to educate the "children of the higher classes of Native Christians."[35] The younger girls learned Scripture, reading and writing -- in Urdu and English -- needlework and knitting, while older girls studied Persian, advanced English, and arithmetic. By 1882, parents contributed about one-third of the cost of education and board for 59 girls; the CMS and government grants-in-aid contributed fixed monthly sums; and the remainder of the cost of the school was raised through subscriptions.

These two schools, the Native Christian Girls' School at Lahore (later the Kinnaird Christian Girls' High School) and the Alexandra Girls' School in Amritsar, took as their models the schools of the Girls' Public Day School Trust (GPDST), a London-based organization founded in the 1870s.[36] These academically oriented secondary schools in Britain copied the curricula of boys' grammar schools, stressing preparation of girls for direct competition with boys in national examinations. British missionary teachers in the Punjab were often themselves products of the GPDST schools. While they modified the curricula of the mission schools to fit Punjabi circumstances, academic standards were high in both schools, and girls were often encouraged to prepare for competitive examinations.

Enrollment in these two schools remained small until the twentieth century, but their graduates formed a pool of English-educated Christian women to staff vernacular and English-medium girls' schools in the province.[37] These women taught and supervised in both government and mission educational institutions. Mona Bose, who contributed so much to female education in Lahore, had attended Alexandra School at Amritsar when it first opened, becoming a "pupil-teacher" there in the early 1880s.[38] The Punjab government relied heavily on Christian women like Bose until Hindu and Muslim teachers became available in the 1930s and '40s. The willingness of Christian women to fill teaching positions was not limited to the Punjab; at the turn of the century, Christian

women comprised almost 70 percent of all women enrolled in teacher training programs throughout British India.[39]

During the early twentieth century, Punjabi Christian women desired university degrees as professional qualifications. Many came from poor backgrounds and needed to supplement their family income or to support themselves after finishing their education. Mission schools for Christian converts provided the sole institutional framework stretching from primary through middle and high school classes to the college level. Many Christian girls started in the Urdu-medium primary section of Kinnaird High School in Lahore, learned English in the middle section of the school, continued their English studies in the high section, and prepared for the university matriculation examination. After 1901, some entered the teacher training class at Kinnaird to study for the Junior Anglo-Vernacular Certificate examination, which helped them find employment in a middle school. After 1913, they could complete the First Arts examination classes at Kinnaird College and then prepare for the Senior Anglo-Vernacular Certificate examination, qualifying them for employment in a high school. Graduates of Kinnaird High School, Kinnaird Training Center, and Kinnaird College -- all institutional offspring of the Lahore Native Christian Girls' School -- marked the advance of women's education in the Punjab. They were also the first women to administer many sectarian institutions for girls in the province.

Hindu and Muslim Girls' Schools

Various religious and social reform groups in Punjabi society wanted English education for their sons without either the Christian bias of the missionaries or the "godless" secular bias of the government schools. Institutional networks designed to spread Western subjects and English-medium instruction thus became a major feature of the educational work of these societies. Established at Lahore in 1877, the Arya Samaj founded both a traditional Hindu alternative school (the *gurukula*) and the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic High School and College, which provided "safe" English-medium education for Hindu men in the late 1880s.[40] After 1890, alternative institutions for the English education of young men clustered at Lahore. The Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, established in 1884, founded Islamia College for Men in 1892, while Hindus unconnected with the Arya Samaj opened Sanatan Dharma College in 1916.[41]

Sectarian girls' schools developed shortly after boys' alternative institutions were established. Reform societies founded gender-segregated schools to provide an education that would be suitable both in length of attendance and subject matter (defined by the educational goals of each group),

as well as to shield girls from Christian influence.[42] Christian mission schools had begun to attract non-Christian female pupils in the second half of the nineteenth century, but even those families who were initially willing to expose their daughters to mission influence often changed their minds when proselytization was effective. For example, the baptism of three male youths in 1867 at Lahore created "widespread panic" extending "hundreds of miles in all directions, affecting both boys and girls schools."[43] To local groups, Christian conversion seemed even more heinous for girls than for boys.[44]

The Arya Samaj initiated the proliferation of new girls' schools. After several false starts, an Arya Kanya Path Shala was firmly established at Jullunder in 1890. Dev Raj Sondhi's mother persuaded him to found this school. She was concerned because her highly educated sons, recently returned from England, were reunited with wives who were completely uneducated. Therefore, her daughters-in-law were the first pupils of the Jullunder school. A Kanya Maha Vidayalaya (girls' high school) was proposed two years later, but sharp disagreement within the Samaj over the merits of higher education for women prevented its inauguration. In general, local Arya groups founded Hindu-medium primary schools which taught reading, "cyphering," and needlework, provided religious instruction, and were often openly nationalistic.[45]

The Jullunder Arya Samaj school eventually became a center for girls' secondary education that did not emphasize the study of English. The first woman to pass the Punjab University's Shastri examination, the highest level of achievement in Sanskrit studies, was a former student of this school.[46] University degrees of proficiency in Oriental languages remained popular for women well into the twentieth century, partially because of the vernacular emphasis in Arya Samaj schools. More female candidates appeared for the Oriental than for the English examinations each year.[47]

Other sectarian groups followed the example of the Arya Samaj in establishing girls' schools. The Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam opened five primary schools for girls in 1885 and ten more by 1894. But secondary schools for Muslim girls appeared only in the twentieth century. The curriculum in these schools included Urdu, Persian, writing, arithmetic, needlework and study of the *Qur'an*.[48] Although not opposed to teaching English to women, the Anjuman considered such academic subjects as "square roots" to be too difficult for them, and substituted instead "practical training in domestic economy."[49] Firmly committed to gender segregation, the Anjuman insisted on female teachers and separate institutions for girls at every educational stage.

Many sectarian organizations employed Kinnaird College Christian alumnae to administer their girls' institutions when candidates of their own faiths were not available for the positions. The Anjuman, like the Arya Samaj, established girls' schools primarily to teach women to be educated wives and mothers, but the Anjuman also established normal schools, even though few Muslim women possessed the qualifications to direct them.[50] When the Anjuman opened Islamia College for Women at Lahore in 1939, they could not locate an educated Muslim woman willing to be principal of the college. Consequently, they hired a Christian Kinnaird College alumna to serve as their first principal.[51]

Muslim, Hindu and Sikh philanthropic individuals and societies modeled their girls' schools on Western mission institutions. However, these groups developed their own particular curricula, which sometimes included a nationalist perspective. Some girls' schools were English-medium and prepared women for the university matriculation or other examination. The Sir Ganga Ram Hindu Girls' School, financed by a wealthy Punjabi private entrepreneur and established at Lahore in 1929, was one such institution.[52] Other schools stressed the vernacular languages, and domestic training for women. Sectarian institutions, then, offered a variety of curricula in the Western institutional model. As these schools mushroomed in the 1920s and '30s, the Hindu, Sikh and Muslim alumnae of Kinnaird College often directed their development.

There were as many versions of the proper features of women's education as there were groups founding schools in the late nineteenth century. Christian missionary societies first established girls' schools, followed shortly by indigenous reformist organizations. Working sometimes toward goals approved by the provincial government and at other times toward goals important only to the individual group, these protagonists created a patchwork of institutions. Some schools focused on Western academic subjects taught in the English language, while others focused on primary education taught in Urdu, Hindi or Punjabi, the vernacular languages of the province. Provincial government officials did not discourage such variety, since they failed to pursue a consistent, vigorous policy promoting any specific type of female education. Officials concentrated primarily on the education of Punjabi males, allowing girls' schools to develop at a considerably slower pace.

Notes to Chapter I

1. Syed Nurullah and J.P. Naik, *A History of Education in India (During the British Period)* (Bombay: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1951), p. 387. On some matters, the 1854 Despatch was revised or updated soon afterwards. The University of the Punjab was added to the university system in 1882. See also Irene Malik, "The Development and Organization of the Inspectorate in the Punjab with Special Reference to West Pakistan" (Master's thesis [Education], University of London, 1961), p. 16; and J.A. Richey, ed., *Grants-in-aid to Schools in British India* (Occasional Report No. 12 of the Bureau of Education: Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1923), chap. VI.

2. Anglo-vernacular schools gave instruction in both Urdu and English; they were English-medium in the high classes. I am indebted to several personal communications from Pete Churchill, who is preparing a study of nineteenth-century education in the Punjab. See Ian J. Kerr, "The Punjab Province and the Lahore District, 1849-1872: A Case Study of British Colonial Rule and Social Change in India" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1975), p. 364; and N. Gerald Barrier, "Punjab Politics and the Disturbances of 1907" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Duke University, 1966), p. 12.

3. Captain A.R. Fuller, *Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies for the year 1860-61*, hereafter *RPEPD* (Lahore: Superintendent of Government Printing, Punjab, 1861), p. iv.

4. G. Chhabra, *Social and Economic History of the Punjab (1849-1901)* (Jullunder: S. Nagin, ca. 1962), p. 155. Also, Fuller, *RPEPD for the year 1853-64*.

5. C. Pearson, D.P.I., *Director's Report to the State* in *RPEPD for the year 1872-73*, p. 38.

6. Flora Annie Steel, *The Garden of Fidelity* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1929), p. 164. The following quotation is from p. 165. See also Daya Patwardhan, *A Star of India: Flora Annie Steel, Her Works and Times* (Poona: 1963).

7. Pat Barr, *The Memsahibs: The Women of Victorian India* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1976), p. 159.

8. Gail Minault, "Purdah's Progress: The Beginnings of Social Education for Indian Muslim Women," in *Individuals and Ideas in Modern India*, ed. Jagdish P. Sharma (Calcutta: Firma, KLM, 1982), pp. 87-89.

9. G.W. Leitner, *History of Indigenous Education in the Panjab Since Annexation and in 1882* (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1882), p. 97. Malik reported that girls were hidden behind a screen during school inspections before the provincial government began to hire female inspectors. See Malik, p. 34. The Government Education Commission of 1882 was popularly known as the Hunter Commission.

10. Y.B. Mathur, *Women's Education in India, 1813-1966* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1973), pp. 42-43.

11. *Punjab District Gazetteers, Volume XIXB, Lahore District Statistics Tables 1912* (Lahore: 1913), p. cxxxviii. Table 51, Education.

12. H. Sharp, *The Progress of Education in India, 1907-12* (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1912), vol. I, p. 213.

13. *Education in the United Kingdom Dependencies* (London: Reference Division, Central Office of Information, 1954), p. 4.

14. The provincial government education officials estimated in 1926 that an enrollment of 75,260 girls at the primary level produced 2,381 literates, of which 84 girls would pass the matriculation examination to qualify for college instruction. *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab, 1925-26* (Lahore: Superintendent of Government Printing, Punjab, 1927), p. 82. Enrollment figures were known to be misleading because they were often inflated to increase government aid given on a per-student-enrolled basis.

15. The government paid 5,288 rupees out of 6,176 rupees for a year's maintenance of the Lahore school in 1872-73. This was very little compared to expenditure for boys' education. See C. Pearson, *Director's Report to the State*, in *RPEPD for the year 1872-73*, p. 36. The information on the Lahore Female Normal School is from C.W.W. Alexander, *Report of the Inspector, Lahore Circle* in *RPEPD for the year 1872-73*, p. 26.

16. *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab, 1925-26*, p. 79.

17. *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab, 1924-25*, p. 63, and *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab, 1925-26*, pp. 77-80. D.S. Batley, *Devotees of Christ: Some Women Pioneers of the Indian Church* (London: Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, 1937), p. 81, for

information on the Victoria School. The Victoria School and the Lady Maclagan School were nominally middle schools with "oriental" high departments. In other words, these schools did not have the facilities or teaching staffs to offer government-approved secondary education in English. In 1935, Lady Maclagan Training School for Girls became affiliated with the Punjab University to offer classes leading to the Bachelor of Teaching examination. See *Report of the University of the Panjab, 1935* (Lahore: University of the Punjab, 1935), p. 43.

18. *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab, 1925-26*, p. 79. For more on non-Christian women as teachers in the late nineteenth century, see Ganga Prasad Upadyaha, *The Origin, Scope and Mission of the Arya Samaj* (Allahabad: Arya Samaj, 1940), p. 112.

19. Batley, pp. 36, 41, 79-82.

20. *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab, 1925-26*, pp. 77-80.

21. Begum Shah Nawaz, daughter of Sir Muhammad Shafi, attended Victoria School from 1906-8. See Shah Nawaz, *Father and Daughter* (Lahore: Nigarshat, 1971), pp. 23-24. Further information about Bose's reputation came from an interview with Lilavati Najmuddin (1899-1983), a Kinnaird alumna and long-time staff member who worked with Bose from 1920-22.

22. Henry Huizinga, *Missionary Education in India* (Cuttack: Orissa Mission Press, 1909), chap. I.

23. John C.B. Webster, *The Christian Community and Change in Nineteenth Century North India* (Delhi: The Macmillan Co. of India, Ltd., 1976), p. 272.

24. Denominational differences within the London Committee of the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society caused the Church of England members to secede in 1879. All of the IFNSI Society stations in India were then divided between two daughter organizations, the Church of England Zenana Mission Society and the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission. Lahore came under the ZBMM.

25. *The 30th Annual Report of the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society, 1881* (Edinburgh: Thomas and Archibald Constable, 1882), p. 4. See also J.G.K. Denny, *Toward the Sunrising: A History of Work for the Women of India done by Women from England, 1852-1901* (London: Marshall Brothers and Zenana Bible and Medical Mission, ca. 1902), passim; and Anthony Ramsen Cavalier, *In Northern India: A Story of Mission Work in Zenanas, Hospitals, Schools and Villages* (London: S.W. Partridge, 1899), passim.

26. Syed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities . . .* (Lahore: Syed Mohammad Minhaj-ud-Din, 1956-57), p. 318. The first edition was published in 1892. Also, *The 26th Annual Report of the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society, 1877* (Edinburgh: Thomas and Archibald Constable, 1878), p. 60.

27. *The 30th Annual Report of the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society, 1881*, pp. 27-28. Also *The Zenana* [magazine of the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission, London],VI (January 1899:40.

28. *The Zenana*, VI (February 1899): 54.

29. Emphasis in original. Edward C. Stuart, "History of the Female Normal School and Instruction Society," *The Indian Female Evangelist* [published quarterly by the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society, London], I (October 1872): 175. Also, Webster, p. 106.

30. Rev. Robert Clark, *A Brief Account of 30 Years of Missionary Work of the CMS in the Punjab and Sindh, 1852-1882* (Lahore: 1883), p. 4. Batley, pp. 36-41, and passim.

31. *The Indian Female Evangelist*, I (October 1872): 175.

32. For a personal account of one Punjabi Hindu father's educational zeal at the end of the nineteenth century, as well as the general respect given by Punjabis to the English educators and doctors who dedicated their lives to public service in their province, see Prakash Tandon, *Punjabi Century 1857-1947* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 25-30.

33. *The Indian Female Evangelist*, IV (July 1878): 136 and *India's Women* [magazine of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society], I (May-June 1881): 144-45. For the school history, see Eileen Nixon, "Kinnaird Christian Girls' High School" (unpublished manuscript, n.d.), p. 1 and C.W.W. Alexander, *Report of Inspector, Lahore Circle*, in *RPEPD for the year 1872-73*, p. 19. The Native Christian Girls' School changed its name several times. The school was called the Lady Dufferin Christian Girls' School ca. 1884. Lady Dufferin was a consistent patron of girls' education, although she was best known for the Countess of Dufferin's Fund for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India, See Barr, pp. 171-78. The school changed its name again in 1906-7 to honor Mary Lady Kinnaird, who worked to support the school and all the projects of the ZBMM. See Nixon, p. 3, on the Kinnaird family. The Kinnaird Christian Girls' High School appeared for the first time in the *Report of the University of the Panjab, 1909-10*, p. 478, when successful matriculation candidates from the school were reported in

1907 and 1908. All of these name changes occurred after the ZBMM controlled the school. The event that threatened enrollment in 1879 was the break-up of the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society. See above, note 24. The Lady Superintendent of the Lahore School was a firm Anglican and joined the Church of England group at Amritsar.

34. *The Panjab University Calendar, 1922-23*, Part I, p. 621.

35. Clark, p. 42.

36. Interview with Eileen Nixon, London, September 1975. Certainly, there were modifications in the Punjab. Needlework would not have been taught in London, where the emphasis was on the classics, as in boys' grammar schools, and competitive examinations. See A.D.C. Peterson, *A Hundred Years of Education* (London: Gerald Duckworth and Co., 1952), pp. 158-59 for a general description of the Girls' Public Day School Trust, and Laurie Magnus, *The Jubilee Book of the Girls' Public Day School Trust* (Cambridge: University Press, 1923).

37. Nurullah and Naik, p. 401. Also, Eleanor McDougall, *Lamps in the Wind: South Indian College Women and their Problems* (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1940), p. 7.

38. Missionary schools often allowed older students to teach the younger ones in a "kind of apprentice system." See Peterson, p. 228. Information on Bose from *India's Women* III [magazine of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society] (May-June 1881): 150.

39. Nurullah and Naik, p. 401.

40. Jones, chap. III.

41. *Lahore Directory, 1923* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1923), pp. 170-92.

42. Jones, pp. 103-8 for the debate over proper education for girls within the Arya Samaj. For the educational goals of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam in the nineteenth century, see Barrier, p. 155 and Minault, pp. 87-89.

43. *The 15th Annual Report of the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society, 1867* (London: Suter and Alexander, n.d.), p. 22. Also Webster, p. 135.

44. Jones, p. 9. Also Webster, pp. 144-45.

45. Jones, pp. 16, 87, 104-5. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #80 (enrolled 1920), niece of Dev Raj Sondhi and daughter of one of the first pupils of the school; New Delhi, 1976.

46. Radhey Shyam Pareek, *Contributions of the Arya Samaj in the Making of Modern India, 1875-1947* (Jaipur: University of Rajasthan, 1965), p. 207. The date of her passing the examination is not clear, but it was before 1913.

47. For example, 105 out of 145 female candidates passed the intermediate examination at the University of the Punjab in 1932, while 428 out of 697 passed the proficiency in Hindi examination the same year. *Report on the Operations of the Panjab University for the Year ending 1932.* Also see Jones, pp. 106-7, and Maskiell, pp. 179-80.

48. Minault, p. 87.

49. *Memorandum on Education* (Lahore: Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, 1928), pp. 22-24.

50. Minault, p. 88.

51. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #97 (enrolled 1921), New Delhi, 1976.

52. N.B. Sen, *Punjab's Eminent Hindus* (Lahore: New Book Society, 1944), pp. 41-61. Also, interview with Kinnaird College alumna #80 (founding principal of Sir Ganga Ram Hindu Girls' High School), New Delhi, 1976.

II

KINNAIRD:
THE REGION'S FIRST WOMEN'S COLLEGE

Kinnaird's institutional development, rather than following an idealized plan, responded to the social and intellectual environment of early-twentieth century Punjab. The college integrated the two general goals of nineteenth-century female education -- training women to be teachers and preparing them to be literate wives and mothers -- within one twentieth-century institution, with far-ranging implications for both the college and its students. However, foreign Christian missionaries and Punjab University officials changed their educational goals in the twentieth century, which in turn altered the financial resources and intellectual climate of Kinnaird College's institutional development.

While Kinnaird belonged to two educational networks, the mission and the university, it achieved considerable institutional independence within each system. Convinced that Christian women needed the opportunity for higher education in the Punjab, the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission teachers at the Kinnaird Christian Girls' High School started college classes in 1913. In 1920, a Board of Directors composed of representatives of the ZBMM, the American Presbyterian Mission, the Church Missionary Society, the American United Presbyterian Mission -- all British and American organizations -- and the Punjab Christian Conference, a provincial religious group, took responsibility for governing Kinnaird College.[1] Firmly planted in this mission network, the college flourished within the provincial educational structure as well. In 1913, Kinnaird became the first women's college to affiliate at the intermediate level with Punjab University, and in 1917 the university granted affiliation at the B.A. standard. Punjab University set the academic curriculum and degree examinations for Kinnaird, as it had for men's colleges since 1882. The university also inspected the college from time to time, thereby enabling it to receive financial grants from both the provincial government and the university itself.

Christian missions and the provincial government had cooperated to advance female education in the nineteenth century, but their policies toward women's higher education diverged in the twentieth. Punjab missionaries scrutinized the Christian content of college teaching, since they were

worried about the shrinking proportion of Christian students and about reevaluating how mission funds would best benefit Punjabi Christians. Provincial government officials, on the other hand, reacted to British educators' promotion of domestic science training for young women by trying to incorporate the subject into a gender-specific university training course.

Mission and government policies toward opening new institutions for women actually reversed in the twentieth century. After 1919, education, public health, public works, and agriculture were transferred to Punjabi ministers responsible to an elected legislature under the terms of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The principle of dyarchy, or divided responsibility, gave Punjabis greatly expanded opportunities to open educational institutions with government funds. The provincial government founded colleges for women at Lahore in 1922, Amritsar in 1933, Lyallpur in 1934 and Ludhiana in 1943. Christian mission institutions, often alone at any one locale in the nineteenth century, faced increasing competition from new government schools and colleges in the twentieth. The Kinnaird College staff offered its own resolutions to the divergent educational aims of missions and government, and developed an independent place within each network.

Changing Mission Aims for Women's Higher Education

Several factors created a dilemma for Christian missionaries in planning their educational programs. First, a shift in the social groups attracted to Christianity between the 1860s and the early decades of the twentieth century translated into a corresponding change in the educational needs of converts. During the 1860s and '70s, Bengali and Hindustani migrants working in subordinate Civil Service positions dominated the Christian community. Predominantly urban, high-caste Hindu or high-status Muslim literates represented the typical local converts.[2] Men from the professions, government service, and schools comprised the larger part of this local group, but orphans were also common. The financial prospects of these early Christians, although limited by questions of inheritance and the poverty of most orphans, still exceeded those of converts after 1886. Thereafter, conversion occurred mainly among village menials; by 1914, 90 percent of people baptized by AP missionaries were rural, low-caste illiterates. Missionaries thus had to adjust the educational network originally designed for urban, high-status converts to the needs of rural, illiterate Christians.

Second, the political context of mission work changed. During the nineteenth century, many British officials openly sympathized with the proselytizing aims of Christian schools.

At the same time, the Government of India was committed to secular educational institutions, and provincial officials financed secondary schools and a men's college that promised religious neutrality. This formal division between church and state schools did not prevent individual missionaries from exercising considerable influence on educational policies, yet twentieth-century missionaries could not count on the help their nineteenth-century predecessors had received from the provincial government.[3] Of course, some legitimacy was still tacitly given to mission aims through the status of Christianity as the religion of the ruling race.

The changing political situation altered relationships between foreign missionaries and local Christians as well. "Devolution" of church and institutional control from foreign missionaries to local Christians paralleled the long process of transferring political authority from appointed to elected officials in British India.[4] This was intertwined with a general trend among foreign missionaries to de-emphasize conversion in favor of full-time work within the existing Christian community. Elizabeth Edwards, Principal of Kinnaird from 1919-28, believed that the value of the college was not only in "laying the claims of Christianity before the more cultured women of the non-Christian communities" but also in "upbuilding and service to the Christian community."[5] Obviously, these goals had never been mutually exclusive.

In response to these changes, two major commissions of British and Indian Christian educators toured the subcontinent to reassess educational needs and mission policies in the early twentieth century. The Fraser Commission evaluated village needs in 1919, followed ten years later by the Lindsay Commission's evaluation of "the place of the Christian college in modern India."[6] These investigations reflected the concern of foreign missionaries over two fundamental issues. What should be the relationship between mission colleges and the Christian community, especially the rural poor? Did mission colleges successfully convert non-Christian students, and should they be financed by the missions if they did not? The Fraser Commission's recommendations were irrelevant for Kinnaird College, but the Lindsay Commission's report led to considerable soul-searching on the part of the college staff.

While most of its findings are beyond the scope of this study, the Lindsay Commission contrasted the situations at men's and women's colleges. Its members found too few Christian teachers, tutors and students in the men's colleges for any hope of Christian influence upon non-Christian students.[7] Indeed, in 1930, non-Christians comprised the overwhelming majority of students in men's mission colleges in North India. Simultaneously, women's colleges earned praise from the commission, even though female higher education formed only a small part of mission educational work in

British India. In 1910, 122 Protestant mission societies were active in education, but only 60 women were studying at mission colleges. Thirty years later, 1500 women attended mission colleges, nearly all of them in gender-segregated institutions.[8] Mission colleges for women contained a larger proportion of Christian students and teachers than did those for men, although their enrollment was much smaller.

By 1930, Kinnaird College had one of the largest proportions of non-Christian students of all the women's mission colleges. I.T. McNair, the Principal of Kinnaird from 1929 to 1950, described the college as "unique among Christian colleges for women in India" with "problems more akin to those of Christian Colleges for men than to those of the Women's Christian College, Madras [or] of the Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow."[9] McNair wrote from personal experience, since she had been Vice Principal of the Women's Christian College, Madras, before joining the Kinnaird staff, and had taught in South India from 1916 to 1928.[10] Actually, Kinnaird stood somewhere between the other women's colleges and the men's colleges as far as the proportion of Christian students was concerned (see Table 1).

Principal McNair attributed the low proportion of Christian students at Kinnaird to the small size and relative poverty of the convert community in the Punjab.[11] McNair's judgment reflected her own experience in the large, well-to-do South Indian Christian communities, and minimized the internal divisions within the Punjab's Christian community which in effect reserved Kinnaird for an urban middle class. The descendants of high-status nineteenth-century converts benefited from the devolution of mission positions into local hands, and, by 1930, their access to mission educational institutions was well established. Because the high-status converts of the nineteenth century desired higher education for their sons and their twentieth-century descendants wanted higher education for their daughters as well, this small but influential urban group considered Kinnaird their college. Urban Christian families, often raising several children on a limited income, received special considerations for their daughters at Kinnaird, such as lower admission standards, scholarship aid, and personal support through specifically Christian social activities. Higher education for Christian men and women both continued employment opportunities in mission institutions and reaffirmed the urban group's social position. In fact, urban Christians seldom mixed socially with the lower-class, more recent rural converts.[12] The small number of urban Christians limited the enrollment of Christian girls at Kinnaird College.

Table 1

PROPORTION OF CHRISTIAN STAFF AND STUDENTS AT CHRISTIAN COLLEGES: INDIA, 1935

College	Staff					Students							
						Resident			Non-Resident				
	% Indian Christian	% European Christian	% Total Christian	% Non-Christian	N Total Count	% Christian	% Non-Christian	Total Resident Count N	% Christian	% Non-Christian	Total Non-Resident Count N	Total Student Count N	Christians as a % of Total Student Pop.
Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow	37	44	81	19	(27)	75	25	(154)	43	57	(23)	(177)	71
Kinnaird College, Lahore	26	37	63	37	(19)	26	74	(77)	13	87	(84)	(161)	19
Women's Christian College, Madras	44	30	74	26	(27)	85	15	(127)	48	52	(29)	(156)	78
Forman Christian College, Lahore (for men)	24	22	46	54	(53.5)	5	95	(375)	4	96	(700)	(1,075)	5

Source: Appendix, "Christian Colleges in India, Statistics, 1935-1936-1937," *The Report of the Central Board of Christian Higher Education for the Year ending March 31, 1937* (Mysore City: Wesley Press and Publishing House, 1938). Reprinted from *The National Christian Council Review* (January 1938).

Foreign missionaries, realizing that lower-class rural converts lacked access to all but the most basic mission services even though they comprised the majority of the local Christian community, reallocated limited mission funds during the 1930s for their benefit. At least one of the missions which initially supported Christian higher education for women argued that it was irrelevant for rural Christians. In 1933, the American United Presbyterian (AUP) Mission decided to withdraw its financial assistance to Kinnaird, and to refer to the home board the question of continuing support for a college staff member.[13] The AUP Mission, primarily a rural one, offered two reasons for this action: the small number of Christian girls requiring or seeking college educations, and the limited need for college-educated women to teach and administer in the AUP Mission schools. Others shared this viewpoint; some experienced local British missionaries felt strongly that village girls should not be educated beyond the level of their parents.[14]

During the worldwide depression, the need for trained women to run mission institutions -- always the primary reason for educating Christian girls -- decreased. A few rural girls, usually the daughters of rural clergy or mission workers, had attended Kinnaird College and found themselves sought after to direct rural mission girls' schools. However, in the 1930s, no new mission girls' schools could be opened in the Punjab, and existing schools could not afford to expand their staffs.[15] Even the limited employment opportunities for college graduates in rural institutions practically ceased. Furthermore, the end of the depression did not signal a new expansion of mission schools. During the 1930s and '40s, then, the Kinnaird Christian staff recruited very few rural girls.

The issue of conversion in general and Christian teaching in particular touched the Kinnaird staff more deeply than the issue of whether or not rural Christian girls had adequate and appropriate educational opportunities. Some perceived a conflict between the desire to proselytize openly and the wish to teach in a Christian women's college.[16] W. Hladia Porter Stewart, the first American Presbyterian representative on the staff of the college and the child of four generations of missionaries in India, described these frustrations.[17] While she would have been content if any of the students had decided to be baptized, Stewart realized the difficulties encountered by female converts. They were sometimes rejected by their own families, leaving them unable to support themselves without mission help. Although two Muslim students at Kinnaird College expressed to Stewart their desire to be baptized, both feared losing their husbands' financial support for their children. Understanding this problem, the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission established a converts' home in 1890, to train such women as teachers, Bible women or nurses. Still,

few women were willing to face the consequences of such a drastic step. Apparently not one student accepted Christianity at Kinnaird.[18]

Staff attitudes toward their role as Christian teachers varied over time. In the 1920s, Principal Edwards described Kinnaird's Christian staff as women "who have volunteered for the service not merely for the intellectual interest of it, great as that is, but primarily for a sense of missionary vocation."[19] Principal McNair, on the other hand, felt herself more a teacher than a missionary. While the proportion of Christians on the Kinnaird staff fluctuated between two-thirds and four-fifths in the 1930s and '40s, the resident staff members were often all Christians. Missionaries from Britain and America dominated the resident staff numerically but very few served for extended periods at the college. McNair faced criticism by some foreign staff members for not creating a distinctly Christian college policy in the 1930s. However, McNair believed that the teachers' Christian values encouraged communal harmony at the college, and that the students would respond to the staff's example.[20]

The two major issues debated by British mission educators in the second and third decades of the twentieth century were settled at Kinnaird College by the beginning of the 1930s. The staff made some initial efforts to recruit rural girls, but declining employment opportunities for them convinced McNair that a higher education did not best serve their interests. College education remained beyond village Christian girls until after 1947, when Kinnaird increased its efforts to attract rural girls. No one on the college staff ever repudiated evangelism, and several believed that they were preparing students for conversion. However, as the non-Christian majority of students steadily increased at the college, the Christian staff turned more and more toward a spirit of religious toleration rather than proselytization. This was coupled with a continued emphasis on educating and financially aiding urban Christian students.

I.T. McNair and the Expansion of Kinnaird

By all accounts, Isabella Taylor McNair (1887-) molded Kinnaird College and its students to fit her ideals while she was principal, from 1929 to 1950. Her life story, beyond interesting those who enjoy biography, illustrates a significant change in the backgrounds of twentieth-century missionary teachers when they are compared to those foreign women who supervised girls' schools in nineteenth-century Punjab. The first British missionaries to India had been "surplus spinsters" of the middle classes.[21] They tended to be well-to-do and often paid for their own passage. However, by the 1890s, women were increasingly recruited for mission

work from the service occupations rather than from the ranks of well-to-do spinsters. The proportion of Church Missionary Society women who were honorary (unsalaried), for example, declined from half in 1888-89 to 16 percent during the decade of the 1890s. During this last decade of the nineteenth century, educated women -- teachers, doctors and nurses in particular -- comprised 30 percent of the missionary women sent overseas by the CMS. This trend quickened in the twentieth century.

McNair was the daughter and granddaughter of Scot Congregational ministers with "German connections."[22] She received her early education in Scotland, except for a year of study in Germany when she was 17. Her mother died that year and she was called home to keep house for her father, three brothers and a younger sister. When she was 21, her father remarried and she joined Glasgow University, receiving an M.A. in Germanics after four years. She then taught in Germany and England before a war-time stint as a censor in Liverpool, from 1915 to 1916.[23] In 1916, the International Missionary Conference in Edinburgh approached McNair to teach at its new ecumenical venture in South India, the Women's Christian College at Madras. She agreed to teach English at the college and became the first missionary in her family. For the next 13 years, McNair lived in Madras, learning about the large South Indian Christian community and imbibing a high standard for mission institutions.

McNair was invited to Lahore in 1928 to interview for the principal's position at Kinnaird College; she was not impressed at the prospect. Neither was she convinced that the college should even continue, for it had "a chequered career and an unsteady staff." Despite these initial misgivings, she joined Kinnaird the following year and remained principal for the next three decades.

As principal, McNair encountered financial problems during the 1930s which her predecessors had not faced. The cooperating missions cut their support of Kinnaird just as the demand for college entrance greatly increased among some Hindu groups. Before the depression, the cooperating missions were the most generous contributors to the Kinnaird College budget. The Zenana Bible and Medical Mission and the American Presbyterian Mission were consistent and committed members of the college union. The Reverend Ross Wilson of Forman Christian College in Lahore was the long-term chairman of Kinnaird's Board of Directors.[24] AP evangelists at Forman Christian College gave advice, shared teaching and college facilities, and participated in social activities at Kinnaird College. Such assistance was not all represented in the college financial accounts. However, the AP Mission, like the other cooperating missions, could not give Kinnaird a steady income.

Illustration 3
I.T. McNair, Principal 1929-50

Foreign contributions for missionary work in British India depended upon financial prosperity at home. The ZBMM, AP and other cooperating missions paid salaries and grants which accounted for more than 40 percent of the annual expenditure of the college in 1921, when student fees paid only about a quarter of the budget (see Appendix A). By 1934, however, mission salaries and grants had shrunk to a quarter of the annual expenditure, and college fees had risen to cover more than half. McNair described how the college had grown less dependent upon the missions for operating expenses:

> The amount which we yearly receive from the missions co-operating in the College, to be used for its maintenance, has been reduced from time to time within the last few years. Next year [1935] it will be little more than half of what it was five years ago, when the number of students was about a third of the present total. It is, however, this larger number of students that has saved the situation financially by providing a fee income to replace the loss in contributions from missions.[25]

As the college relied less on its cooperating missions, the Kinnaird Board took more initiative, deciding in 1933 to take the somewhat controversial step of buying a large, new site. During the 1920s, the college received substantial financial assistance from abroad for capital expenditure. The Lake Road property to which the college moved in 1926 was purchased with money raised in America and England.[26] However, the Lake Road site proved too small to accommodate the number of students applying to the college at the end of the 1920s, and the high cost of neighboring land prevented easy expansion. McNair had found the Lake Road property unsuitable from the first. She encouraged the Kinnaird Board of Directors to buy land on the outskirts of Lahore and build larger facilities. The Kinnaird College committees in New York and London advised the board that foreign financial help would not be available for such a move. However, the board decided to go ahead on its own, and borrowed all of the money for the new site in Lahore.[27]

This larger site enabled the college to accept more students, which meant increased income from student tuition. By 1947, fees contributed 70 percent of the annual operating expenses of the college, whereas the contribution of the missions had fallen to only 12 percent. The proportion of Christian students declined from 35 percent of Kinnaird's student body in 1933, to 16 percent in 1947. Most of the fee income that was becoming such a crucial component of the

Illustration 4

Kinnaird College Class at Lake Road Site

college budget in the 1930s was thus contributed by the families of non-Christian students.

Of course, money was not the only tie that bound Kinnaird College within the mission network. Kinnaird established "natural links" with a number of mission secondary schools in the 1920s, including Alexandra High School in Amritsar, Avalon High School in Pathankot, the Dehra Dun School for Girls, the Delhi School for Girls, and Queen Mary High School in Delhi.[28] The education of a Muslim alumna illustrates these close ties among Christian schools, and the informal recruiting network based on Kinnaird graduates in administrative positions throughout the Punjab.[29] Akhtar attended Avalon High School as a boarding student because her father, a lawyer in Batala, was eager for her to attend a "proper school." The principal of Avalon, a Christian Kinnaird alumna, encouraged her to join Kinnaird, which she did in 1931. Her parents felt that the B.A. degree was a reasonable goal for a woman, but Akhtar wanted to study further. She was allowed to prepare for the M.A. in mathematics at Government College, Lahore.[30] While she was doing so, the principal of Stratford College, a government institution founded at Amritsar in 1933, offered Akhtar the chance to teach with the future promise of study leave. The principal of Stratford at that time was Khadijah Begum Ferozuddin, one of the best-known Muslim alumnae of Kinnaird. Akhtar taught at Stratford College for a number of years, with study leaves to further her education in Lahore and Germany. She earned her Ph.D. abroad and dedicated her life to women's education in the Punjab.

Kinnaird's early ties with mission schools declined dramatically during the 1930s and '40s (see Table 2). The proportion of Kinnaird students from mission high schools fell from three-quarters of the early-period (1913-28) students, to only a third of the established-period (1929-47) students. This was largely due to the shift from a Christian to a Hindu student majority, as Hindu families preferred to send their daughters to the new sectarian and government high schools. However, even Christian families took advantage of the increased availability of government institutions. Whereas 86 percent of the early-period Christian students had attended Christian preparatory institutions, only 66 percent of the established-period Christian students did so.[31]

The wide range of educational backgrounds which characterized students from the established period reflected the increased number of girls' high schools in the Punjab. In the 1920s, the provincial government started to build a chain of girls' high schools in cities that were district headquarters.[32] The number of sectarian girls' high schools also increased at that time, and these schools sent large numbers of students to Kinnaird. At Lahore, the Hans Raj Mahila Mahavidyala, an English-medium Arya Samaj school, and the

Table 2

KINNAIRD COLLEGE STUDENTS'
PREVIOUS EDUCATION

	Early Period 1913-28		Established Period 1929-47	
Type of Secondary School	N	%	N	%
Lahore, Christian	65	61	105	16
Lahore, Government	10	9	94	14
Lahore, Sectarian	0	0	123	19
Private Students (No Institution)	4	4	89	14
Christian, Outside Lahore	21	20	103	16
Sectarian, Outside Lahore	6	6	16	2
Government, West Punjab	0	0	69	11
Government, East Punjab	0	0	29	4
India (minus Punjab)	0	0	23	4
Princely States	0	0	2	0
Previous Education Known	106	100.0%	653	100.0%
Missing Cases	99		686	
Total Number of Cases	205		1,339	

Source: Alumnae interviews and a sample of the student admission forms in the Kinnaird College files. As is evident from the table, the previous education was determined for only half of the Kinnaird students in each period.

Sir Ganga Ram Hindu Girls' High School opened classes in 1928 and 1929, respectively, both with Kinnaird Hindu alumnae as the founding principals.[33] Kinnaird alumnae administering secondary schools formed a recruiting network in the 1930s and '40s parallel to the mission recruiting network established in the 1920s.

Kinnaird College under I.T. McNair loosened its mission ties due to financial necessity and simultaneously accepted the new demands for women's higher education among elite Hindu families. College enrollment expanded dramatically, replacing mission funds with fee income and leading Kinnaird to relocate to larger sites twice in six years. The great increase in Hindu enrollment was not followed by large increases from the other religious communities. While Hindu students by and large did not join Kinnaird to attain teaching credentials, the college curriculum remained basically the same as when Christian teachers-in-training comprised the majority of Kinnaird's clientele. Just as the Kinnaird staff was adjusting to the increased enrollment of Hindu students, officials at the University of the Punjab were debating the addition of domestic science to the liberal arts curriculum for women.

The University of the Punjab and the Question of a Women's Curriculum

Nineteenth-century attitudes which confined Hindu, Muslim and Sikh women's roles to their homes spilled over into the twentieth century, and continued to affect the design of women's higher education. The idea that women's education should include domestic training had many advocates in Great Britain as well as the Punjab. For example, an inquiry by the British Board of Education in 1920 led to the inclusion of "feminine interests" such as domestic science in British girls' schools.[34] Some twentieth-century provincial officials, encouraged by local conservatism, responded to British developments by promoting a gender-specific course for women. The Punjab University liberal arts curriculum, as will be seen below, had become popularly linked to preparation for employment, which seemed irrelevant for most female students. Thus, continuing public doubts about the utility of purely academic higher education for women, coupled with provincial officials' attitudes toward including domestic science within a special women's curriculum shaped the intellectual environment in which Kinnaird College developed in the late 1920s and 1930s.

University education in late nineteenth-century British India reflected the cultural and political dominance of the West. The provincial government had cooperated with the American Presbyterian Mission in developing higher education

in the Punjab. It had established a college for men at Lahore in 1864, while the American Presbyterians started college classes about the same time.[35] These two institutions capped the Anglo-vernacular high schools of the government and the AP Mission, forming a vertical educational system well before the turn of the century. While neither institution was specifically gender-segregated, women were excluded from classes by social norms. Students of these colleges traveled to Calcutta to be examined and to receive their degrees until the establishment of the Punjab University at Lahore in 1882. The new University of the Punjab was modeled after London University, which had developed into an examining institution in the 1850s.[36] In the degree course, the matriculation (or entrance) examination was followed after two years by the Intermediate (First Arts) examination. The final test for the Bachelor of Arts Degree concluded the course after four years of study. The language of instruction and examination of the university and its affiliated colleges was English. In addition to liberal arts, the university offered professional degrees in medicine and law, and degrees of proficiency in Oriental Languages (Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, and various Punjabi vernaculars).

The government initially transplanted its system of higher education to British India to educate a pool of English-literate candidates for official service.[37] Higher education in the Punjab had a pronounced academic bias and did not train the majority of its graduates for any specific vocation, but most male students attended college to realize employment goals. The provincial government supported two separate and unequal educational networks for males in late nineteenth-century Punjab, each qualifying students for specific types of employment opportunities. The Anglo-vernacular system, focusing on English-medium instruction, included Christian mission schools (partially supported by government aid) and the government high school and college at Lahore. The vernacular network of secondary schools (teaching students in Urdu) was entirely government supported. Each system prepared students for a branch of the University of the Punjab. English-medium education led to the Western degree classes, and these provided the coveted prerequisite for relatively high-level government employment, as well as opportunities to study for professional degrees. Parents preferred English-medium schools over vernacular education if financially possible.[38] Despite the efforts of strongly partisan Orientalists like G.W. Leitner, degrees in Oriental languages obtained through vernacular education were not considered academically equivalent to the Western degrees for purposes of government employment. Further, even though degrees in Oriental languages prepared students for employment, this generally entailed relatively low-paying and low-prestige jobs outside the small Westernized bureaucratic sector of Punjabi society.[39]

Indigenous attitudes toward female education, explored in the previous chapter, reinforced some provincial officials' notions that academic higher education equivalent to that offered males was inappropriate for females. Certainly, middle-class Punjabis, especially members of the Hindu Khatri castes, perceived English education as desirable for their sons since it opened the doors to prestigious government work, but this incentive was missing for their daughters. As long as Punjabis viewed higher education primarily as preparation for a career, and as long as Punjabi social norms blocked women from considering careers, institutions for female higher education seemed a luxury that the provincial government was not willing to buy. The only exception had been nineteenth-century normal schools to train female teachers. However, despite both indigenous attitudes toward female education and the restricted goals of provincial officials, these normal schools slowly developed into women's colleges in the Punjab, just as they had in much of the West.[40]

The struggle to admit women to universities in Britain helped pave the way for women in British India. Strong prejudice belittling the intellectual capacities of females hampered the spread of higher education among women in both places. Many British feminists believed that the most direct refutation of such prejudice would come from the success of individual women in coeducational competition, and they successfully focused on the issue of university admittance of women. Due to their efforts, the Universities of London, Madras and Calcutta all admitted women degree candidates in the 1870s.[41] However, the coeducational academic competition relished by British feminists was alien to Punjabi ideas of appropriate gender roles. Women's public roles were much more narrowly defined in British India than in Victorian Britain. Why should Hindu, Sikh and Muslim women take university examinations in the same subjects as men who were preparing for a career? A career goal was practically unthinkable for these women at the end of the nineteenth century. Because women generally performed well on university examinations, Punjab government officials could not claim female intellectual inferiority (see Tables 3 and 4), but they did question the value of women pursuing a liberal arts curriculum designed to train English-literate male candidates for government service.

A committee appointed by the governing body of the Punjab University recommended in 1927 that "a special non-degree course should be designed for Indian girls . . . to train the general intelligence and character of future wives and mothers rather than to provide any professional qualifications.. . ."[42] Regulations in 1930 added compulsory courses in Domestic Economy, Mother Craft and Child Psychology to a standard liberal arts curriculum that included the study of English, and suggested elective courses in music and art work. But these regulations were not carried out. Six years later, a committee

Table 3

UNIVERSITY EXAMINATION PASS PERCENTAGES AT LAHORE MEN'S AND WOMEN'S COLLEGES: 1920, 1934

	Bachelor of Arts					
	1920			1934		
College	# of Candidates	# of Passes	Pass Percent	# of Candidates	# of Passes	Pass Percent
Government College (for men)	104	67	64	148	125	84
Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College (for men)	175	111	63	179	114	64
Forman Christian College (for men)	153	111	72	207	115	56
Islamia College (for men)	82	48	59	124	65	52
Kinnaird College (for women)	7	5	71	18	17	94
Lahore College for Women	---	---	--	21	20	95
Private College (for women)*	---	---	--	9	8	89
Sacred Heart Convent (for women)*	---	---	--	5	2	40

*Since these institutions were unrecognized by the University, the students involved would have registered for the examinations as private students.

Source: See Table 4.

was appointed to reconsider the special women's curriculum since no candidate had ever appeared to be examined for this course nor was any institution offering it.

In a letter written in 1936, the British Vice Chancellor of the university expressed some of the stereotypes used by critics of college-educated women:

> Again and again I have been told by the gentry that they object to a higher education for their daughters because it means extra servants. The young lady who receives higher education refuses to do housework. . . . I am told that there is an excellent domestic syllabus if the girls would only take it. Education is not to blame, the girls are to blame. . . . The lucky girls who get a higher education instead of being pioneers of women's welfare work and making education popular by demonstrating that the educated girl is a better wife and housekeeper, utilize their education to escape from their responsibilities and do not even bring up their own children.[43]

This was not merely the querulous gossip of one middle-aged man to another, but the privately expressed basis of the Vice Chancellor's recommendations for university curriculum changes. He continued:

> Would it not be possible to make the women's education of a far more practical kind than it is now, so that no woman can obtain any kind of diploma or degree without being really well-trained for what is bound to be the main occupation of 99% of her sex? I do not see how we can avoid the conclusion that education has got to fit people for the battle of life, but if education is going to unfit women for the places they will have to occupy in life, it will become harder and harder to obtain a strong public opinion in favour of female education.[44]

Kinnard's Principal McNair blamed the lack of choice among degree programs and institutional types, rather than the university liberal arts curriculum, for the literary focus of post-secondary education for both men and women. She was a member of the university committee established by the Vice Chancellor in 1936 "to explore the question of female education in reference to Indian social needs."[45] Her

Table 4

COMPARISON OF EXAMINATION RESULTS FOR ALL WOMEN:
PUNJAB UNIVERSITY, 1934

College	Bachelor of Arts	
	# of Candidates	# of Passes
Kinnaird College	18	17
Lahore College	21	20
Private College*	9	8
Sacred Heart Convent*	3	2
Total from Institutions	51	47

Type of Candidate	# of Candidates	# of Passes	Pass %
Candidates from Institutions	51	47	92
Private Candidates (appeared for examination without regular institutional attendance)	66	31	47
Total Female Candidates for the B.A., 1934	117		

*Since these institutions were unrecognized by the University, the students involved would have registered for the examinations as private candidates.

Source: Controller of Examinations, "Lahore, 1934" (Lahore: University of the Panjab, 15th June 1934); also, *Report on the Operations of the Panjab University for the year ending September, 1935. Report on the Operations of the Panjab University for the year ending September, 1921.*

attitude toward including domestic science within the university curriculum, which turned out to be the focus of this committee's discussions, was quite different from the views of the Vice Chancellor. McNair argued that domestic science would be irrelevant for young women of the province unless it were taught by trained Punjabi women -- who were very rare -- and that to have academic value, it must be based on science, which had been neglected as part of women's education. She suggested that the first step toward the introduction of domestic science in the Punjab should be the encouragement of science in girls' high schools and women's colleges. She realized the financial problems inherent in such a recommendation. Science classes required expensive equipment, which was one of the reasons it had been neglected in the first place. In fact, Kinnaird College could not afford to offer science classes until 1950.[46]

At the bottom of McNair's lack of sympathy for domestic training at the college level was her emphasis on equal treatment for male and female students. In 1933, she was glad to note that women's and men's colleges were to follow the same procedure for the first time in granting pass degrees to their successful candidates in the university examinations. Three years later, McNair advocated the abolition of the special university provision that allowed female candidates to substitute a modern language for a classical one in the First Arts Examination.[47]

McNair, unlike her fellow Briton, the Vice Chancellor of the Punjab University, did not worry that a liberal arts college education would make women "unfit" for their adult lives. The young women who attended Kinnaird College were not being trained for housework: as one alumna reported, "Why should girls be sent to college to learn what they can learn at home?"[48] McNair expected alumnae to be active in public life as well as private, to face intelligently the ballot box as well as the kitchen. For example, Kinnaird students served as polling assistants for the 1937 elections to the Punjab Legislative Assembly on the days when women voted. In the same year, Begum Shah Nawaz, a local female political leader, addressed Kinnaird students on the place of women in the Indian Constitution.[49] McNair's conviction that women's education should be intellectually equal to men's, and her emphasis on civic training, had important consequences for all Kinnaird alumnae, a point that will be discussed in the next chapter.

Notes to Chapter II

1. Kinnaird High School, *Report for the Year 1913* (Lahore: 1914); Kinnaird Christian College, *Report for the Year 1919-1920* (Lahore: 1920). Also, *Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore* (Liverpool: 1923).

2. John C.B. Webster, *The Christian Community and Change in Nineteenth Century North India* (Delhi: The Macmillan Co. of India, Ltd., 1976), chap. III, pp. 46-92 and chap. VII, pp. 227-35.

3. Ibid., pp. 17, 43, 179. For example, I.T. McNair served on several Punjab University committees which decided policies for women's education (see text below). McNair received a gold Kaiser-i-Hind medal in the last List of Honours bestowed by the British government before Independence. In 1958, the Punjab University made her a Fellow for Life, an honor that had not been conferred since 1902. See Priobala Mangat Rai, *Kinnaird College Report* (hereafter *KCR*), *1957-58*, p. 15.

4. Webster, chap. VI, pp. 187-226. In the Punjab, the transfer of power from foreign to Indian Christian hands within the AP Mission took place from the 1890s to 1914. See *Village Education in India, the Report of a Commission of Inquiry* [The Fraser Commission] (London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1920), p. 6. The Kinnaird College Board wanted to offer the position of principal to a local Christian as early as 1919. See Elizabeth M. Edwards, *KCR, 1922-23*, p. 9.

5. Elizabeth M. Edwards, Principal, "A Statement Concerning the Kinnaird Christian College for Women, Lahore." (Kinnaird College files, 1926), part I, p. 9.

6. The report of the Fraser Commission was published as *Village Education in India* (see note 4). The report of the Lindsay Commission was published as *Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India: An Enquiry into the Place of the Christian College in Modern India* (London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1931).

7. Sir George Anderson and Henry Bishop Whitehead, *Christian Education in India* (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1932), pp. 4, 43-45, 74. Anderson, a former Director of

Public Instruction in the Punjab, and Whitehead, former Bishop of Madras, were critical of the recommendations of the Lindsay Commission.

8. For praise of the women's colleges by the Lindsay Commission, see Anderson and Whitehead, pp. 10, 23. The figures on women in mission colleges appeared in George Sherwood Eddy, *India Awakening* (New York: Education Department, Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A., 1911), appendix 1, p. 249. The appendix gives statistics of Protestant missions in India for 1910. The comparative figure is from *Report of the Central Board of Christian Higher Education for the year ending March 31, 1937* (Mysore City: 1938). Reprinted from *The National Christian Council Review* (January, 1938).

9. I.T. McNair to Rev. E.G. Parker, Acting Secretary, American Presbyterian Mission, Fatehgarh, U.P., 18th November, 1936. "Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore," manuscript enclosed with letter, p. 1.

10. Interview with I.T. McNair, Edinburgh, May, 1976.

11. I.T. McNair, "In Answer to the Questionnaire," unpublished manuscript in Kinnaird College files (September 1936), sect. A, part I, p. 1. The questionnaire was from Mrs. J.M. Benade, American Presbyterian Mission, who was trying to gather information for the publicity department of the New York office.

12. Webster, p. 81. Also, interview with Kinnaird College alumna #291 (enrolled 1932), London, 1976, concerning "rice Christians," a derogatory name for people who converted in order to be fed. For more on Christian work among the villages, see Godfrey Edward Phillips, *The Outcastes' Hope: or Work Among the Depressed Classes in India* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1918, 5th ed.), and Jones, *Arya Dharm*, pp. 13-15.

13. Rev. H.C. Chambers, D.D., The Sialkot Mission of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, to Principal McNair, 10th November, 1933. The AUP was not the only mission to withdraw support temporarily, and all of the cooperating missions went through periods of greater or lesser aid to the college.

14. Interview with Miss Meredith, London, 1977. Miss Meredith was a retired teacher previously with the Church of England Missionary Society, and had been the headmistress of various CMS Urdu-medium schools in the Punjab.

15. McNair, "In Answer to the Questionnaire," sect. A, part I, pp. 1-2.

16. Miss Sirkar, an Indian Christian member of staff, felt "called" to the National Missionary Society rather than to the staff of Kinnaird. Edwards, *KCR, 1921-22*, pp. 8-9. Other information on this point came from the Stewart interview (see note 17) and from the McNair interview (see note 10).

17. Interview with W. Hladia Porter Stewart, London, 1977.

18. For converts' home, see Anthony Ramsey Cavalier, *In Northern India: A Story of Mission Work in Zenanas, Hospitals, Schools and Villages* (London: S.W. Partridge for the ZBMM, 1899), p. 45. The Muslim women given as examples were identified as alumnae #203 (enrolled 1928) and #563 (enrolled 1935). I interviewed the daughters of both women, and neither supported the contention that their mothers had ever considered converting to Christianity. Both women are dead, so the issue remains unsolved.

19. Edwards, part II, p. 1.

20. Interview with I.T. McNair, Edinburgh, May 21, 1976.

21. Sarah Caroline Potter, "The Social Origins and Recruitment of English Protestant Missionaries in the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1974), pp. 229-30. The following is from Potter, p. 235, and Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men [sic] and Its Work* (London: CMS, 1899), pp. iii, 369. Comparable records do not exist for the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society, because the unpublished records of the society were destroyed in London during World War II. Personal communication from Dorothy Boswell, Secretary, Bible and Medical Missionary Fellowship, 1976.

22. All quotations are from author's interview with I.T. McNair, May 21, 1976, Edinburgh.

23. Additional biographical information is from a personal communication from Pricbala Mangat Rai, September, 1983.

24. The Rev. Ross Wilson served on the Kinnaird College Board from 1920 to 1952. See Mangat Rai, *KCR, 1951-52*, p. 9.

25. I.T. McNair, *KCR, 1933-34*, p. 9.

26. Elizabeth M. Edwards, *KCR, 1926-27*, p. 8. The ZBMM and APM contributed the most; the American United Presbyterian Mission gave a small sum; foreign supporters donated some money directly to the college for the purchase; and the remainder of the purchase price was borrowed in Lahore.

27. Staff, *KCR, 1930-31*, p. 4. Also, I.T. McNair, *KCR, 1932-33*, pp. 6-7.

28. Interview with I.T. McNair, May, 1976. Alexandra School was financed by the Church Missionary Society; Avalon High School by the American United Presbyterian Mission; the Dehra Dun School by the American Presbyterian Mission; the Delhi School for Girls by the Baptist Missionary Society; the Queen Mary High School in Delhi by the Cambridge Mission to Delhi. All are listed in *Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore . . . N. India* (n.d.), p. 15.

29. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #284 (enrolled 1931), Lahore, 1977. Akhtar is a pseudonym for this alumna.

30. It was very unusual for a Muslim woman to attend this men's college, but a small number of determined female students had attended Government College for advanced degree work. Women were not actually in the same classrooms with male students; they had separate classes. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #167 (enrolled 1927), Lahore, 1976.

31. These figures are based on students whose previous education is known, or about half of the enrollment in each period (see Appendix B, Table B-IX).

32. There were 18 government high schools for girls throughout the Punjab in 1924. See *Report on the Progress of Education for the year ending 31st March 1924*, p. 3. For the number of girls' institutions immediately after partition of the Punjab, see *The Punjab. A Review of the First Six Years (August 1947-August 1953)* (Lahore?: The Director, Public Relations, Punjab, n.d.), p. 62.

33. Interviews with Kinnaird College alumnae #40 (enrolled 1917) and #80 (enrolled 1920), New Delhi, 1976. The father of #40 and the uncle of #80 were both educational leaders in the Arya Samaj, at Lahore and Jullunder, respectively.

34. A.D.C. Peterson, *A Hundred Years of Education* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 1952), p. 161.

35. Fuller, *RPEPD 1863-64* (Lahore: Superintendent of Government Printing, Punjab, 1864), p. 8, provides information on the college department of the American Presbyterian mission school for boys in Lahore. For a general history of these developments, see *Panjab University Almanac and Calendar, 1906-7*, pp. 1-25.

36. The history of the University of the Punjab is available in M. Bashir, *The Question of Medium of Instruction and Examination at the University of the Panjab* (n.d.). This pamphlet must have been published in Lahore, probably by the University, around 1967.

37. *Towards Equality: Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India* (New Delhi: Government of India, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, 1974), p. 236.

38. The Indian Civil Service was divided into a top level reserved for Europeans, and lower levels open to Indians. English education prepared Indians for the competitive examinations leading to the top of the non-European levels. This situation changed very slowly in the twentieth century. See L.S.S. O'Malley, *Indian Civil Service* (London: J. Murray, 1931), and B.B. Misra, *Administrative History of India, 1834-1947* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970). Pete Churchill confirmed my speculation that parents preferred English education; personal communication, May, 1979.

39. Barrier, pp. 27-28.

40. Peterson, p. 155.

41. Ibid., pp. 158-59.

42. *Report on the Operations of the Panjab Univeraity for the year ending 1927*, p. 12.

43. District Office letter No. 372-79, F.L. Brayne, Vice Chancellor, Panjab University, to Bishop ----------, Commissioner of Rural Reconstruction. Simla, 10th June, 1936, p. 1. Copy in Kinnaird College files.

44. Ibid.

45. Ishwar Das, Registrar, University of the Panjab, and the Vice Chancellor, 11th June, 1936, attached to letter No. 10865-74, Ishwar Das, Registrar, to members of the Committee "in continuation of this office endorsement No. 10560-69," 12th November, 1936. (This was a committee to consider adding domestic science to the University curriculum.) Copy in Kinnaird College files.

46. Maskiell, pp. 98-99.

47. I.T. McNair, *KCR, 1932-33*, p. 9 and *KCR, 1935-36*, p. 6.

48. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #781 (enrolled 1938), Rawalpindi, 1977.

49. I.T. McNair, *KCR, 1936-37*, pp. 12-13.

III

THE KINNAIRD COLLEGE ETHOS

Kinnaird College was a social node at the intersection of British institutional innovation and Punjabi social response. British missionary teachers created college classes for Christian students but did not limit enrollment to Christians alone. The replacement of a Christian by a Hindu majority among the student body in the 1930s and '40s led to several adjustments in administrative policy unanticipated by the missionary founders, but not to any fundamental change in the distinct college ethos.[1] Elite Punjabi families adopted the college to serve their own social ends without challenging its Western, Christian ideals.

College classes began as an extension of Kinnaird Christian Girls' High School, so student life only gradually developed a character of its own. The college merited its own principal in 1915 and separate buildings in 1917, the year the staffs separated the financial accounts of the two institutions.[2] Former students joined the staffs of both institutions, pulling them closer together in the early years. By the 1920s, however, the college was physically and financially distinct from the high school and finally began to develop independently.

The Kinnaird College lifestyle, designed as it was for Punjabi Christians, permitted increased personal freedom to many young women from Hindu, Sikh and Muslim backgrounds. Kinnaird was a rare early-twentieth-century women's college that did not impose purdah restrictions on students, that encouraged women to consider professional careers after graduation, and that promoted female intellectual equality in the Punjab University community, especially after 1929. The staff also urged graduates to expand their ideas of what women could accomplish in primarily domestic roles. The value of service to society, a secularized version of the Christian concept of "good works," was taught through social service projects and continuously emphasized in the college rhetoric. In short, the missionary staff considered non-academic moral and civic lessons to be a crucial part of the college experience.

The Kinnaird Christian staff taught students their own foreign values, a process here described as secondary socialization.[3] Socialization is "the process by which persons

acquire the knowledge, skills and dispositions that make them more or less able members of their society."[4] Many Hindu, Sikh and Muslim students, while they received their primary socialization at home, were sent to Kinnaird to acquire "the knowledge, skills and disposition" that would groom them to join the English-speaking elite in Punjabi society. Within the Kinnaird College social system, students were exposed to the values of non-family members through their interaction with their peers and the staff.[5] This chapter traces the values presented by the Christian staff to evaluate the extent to which the ideals encouraged at Kinnaird College were realized in alumnae lives.

The Early Years: 1913-28

The Kinnaird staff often compared dormitory life to an idealized family, a common pattern among residential institutions.[6] Missionaries and most students at Kinnaird lived together in a small compound and interacted during morning and evening prayers, classes, and dinner. At least one staff member always resided in the student hostel with the others in a staff house nearby. During the 1920s, more than half of the students lived in the hostel; resident students continued to comprise between half and three-quarters of the student body until 1947 (see Table 5). The small enrollment in the early years and the daily intimacy bestowed a feeling of familial solidarity among staff and students alike.[7]

This sense of rapport centered on the mission staff's Western ideals and a Christian majority within the student body (see Table 6). Neither Hindu caste dietary exclusiveness nor purdah restrictions existed at the college. Staff and students had their meals together "as members of one family."[8] As one British missionary wrote home in 1927,

> This matter of a common dining room for all students is, incidently, a matter of great pride and joy to us. Here in our little College it has been possible . . . to set the tradition of everyone eating together -- Christians, Mohammedans and Hindus of whatever sect or caste.[9]

Separate kitchen, dining, and sometimes living arrangements were customary at other Punjabi institutions, so only daughters of families with very liberal dietary practices were permitted to live under the conditions prevailing at Kinnaird College.[10] (Of course, non-Christian day students, who attended classes without joining the student mess, could be as strict in their dining habits as their families requested.)

Table 5

KINNAIRD COLLEGE RESIDENT AND DAY STUDENTS, BY RELIGION

Religion	1920			1928			1933			1947		
	Resident	Day	Total	Resident	Day	Total	Resident	Day	Total	Resident	Day	Total
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Christian	15	7	22	29	0	29	41	3	44	29	7	36
Hindu	4	9	13	8	10	18	20	28	48	48	71	119
Muslim	1	0	1	3	2	5	8	7	15	16	16	32
Sikh	1	0	1	0	1	1	13	2	15	32	10	42
Other	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	2	1	0	1
Yearly Totals	21	17	38	40	13	53	84	40	124	126	104	230
Christians (as a % of Yrly. Total)			58%			55%			35%			16%
Hindus (as a % of Yrly. Total)			34%			34%			39%			52%
All Others (as a % of Yrly. Total)			8%			11%			26%			33%
			100%			100%			100%			101%
Residents (as a % of Yrly. Total)			55%			75%			68%			55%
Non-Residents (as % of Yrly. Total)			45%			25%			32%			45%
			100%			100%			100%			100%

Source: Annual Reports of Kinnaird College.

The lack of purdah arrangements also demonstrated that student life was geared toward Christian students. With few exceptions, only Christian women expected to work after college in the 1920s. In 1923, a member of the staff envisioned that part of the function of the college was

> . . . to train the students in self-reliance and responsibility, by allowing a certain amount of social freedom under guidance and with proper chaperonage, so that when they leave College to take up work under [unprotected] conditions, they may bear themselves wisely and with dignity. Such a policy, of course, involved the giving up of purdah arrangements.[11]

The most striking violation of purdah at Kinnaird was the employment of part-time, non-resident male teachers, due to an initial shortage of women trained to teach college classes. This meant that even day students could not observe purdah at the college. As a result, Muslim enrollment at Kinnaird was very limited until after 1947, when male faculty were no longer employed.

The staff arranged college life to provide students with experience in the Western structures of voluntary organizations and community democracy. Student government grew over the yeras into a system of committees which conducted many of the daily affairs of the college. Extracurricular activities, such as debates, social service, dramatics, and Kinnaird's branch of the Student Christian Movement, were all directed by students helped by a member of the staff.[12] Alumnae remembered student government as a vital part of their college experience, recounting in detail various rivalries for the responsible and prestigious position of Senior Student. Through this system, students focused on matters other than passing university examinations, and practiced Western models for voluntary organizations. They gained social skills and poise from interacting with foreign missionaries and young women from different cultural and religious backgrounds. These activities also encouraged individual initiative and rewarded assertive behavior, both very foreign to the ideals of home training Punjabi women received.[13] Above all, students were urged to develop a sense of responsibility as members of the college community and a "civic spirit" that would stay with them after graduation.[14]

The Christian missionaries at both Kinnaird High School and Kinnaird College encouraged their students to undertake extracurricular social work. In the 1918 combined report of the high school and college, the Kinnaird staff expressed its early evangelical goals: "our desire is that when our girls

Table 6

KINNAIRD COLLEGE STUDENTS,
BY RELIGION

Religion	Early Period 1913-28		Established Period 1929-47	
	N	%	N	%
Christian	104	52.0	240	18
Hindu	65	32.5	672	51
Muslim	9	4.5	202	15
Sikh	12	6.0	202	15
Other	10	5.0	16	1
Total: Religion Known	200	100.0%	1,332	100%
Missing Cases	5		7	
	205		1,339	

Notes: For the early period, the category "other" includes 5 Brahmo Samaj students, 3 Parsi students, 1 Anglo-Indian, and 1 student whose father was Hindu and whose mother was a Punjabi Christian. Within the "Hindu" category, the family religion of 4 students was registered as "Dev Samaj" (followers of S.N. Agnihotri), and 8 students were registered as "Vedic," "Aryan," or "Arya Samaj." Arya Samaj students were undercounted since all of the alumnae who described the Arya Samaj activities of their families were listed in the register simply as "Hindu." For the established period, the category "other" includes 8 Brahmo Samaj students, 3 Parsi students, 2 Jain students, and 3 Anglo-Indians. Within the "Hindu" category, 23 students came from families identified as belonging to the Arya Samaj, but, as in the early period, this group was undercounted.

Source: Admissions Register, Kinnaird College.

leave us they will feel their responsibility toward their sisters who have not had their advantages and will do all they can to win them to Jesus Christ."[15] Christian students held Sunday School classes for the college servants' children. A Social Service Committee expressed the Christian ideal of service at the college. Non-Christian students participated in these social work activities, particularly in putting on plays to raise money for charity. For example, in 1924, the students presented an Urdu play which raised more than Rs. 300 for the Flood Relief Fund.[16] As Principal Elizabeth Edwards wrote in 1922:

> It is difficult for a young woman student in India to do much social or missionary work outside of her own family and College circle, but for whatever we can do we are never short of volunteers and we are constantly on the look out for new outlets for the spirit of service.[17]

Alumnae tended to internalize the missionaries' view that the indigenous religions had no social welfare ethic and only Christians taught the importance of welfare work.[18]

Perhaps the most controversial extracurricular activities were coeducational public debates. Kinnaird students started to win debates in competition with both male and female university students in the 1920s, and they continued to enter mixed debates until 1947.[19] Even families without purdah restrictions often objected to their daughters attending public meetings, not to mention speaking in front of a gender-mixed audience. In short, some of the college's behavioral standards were diametrically opposed to the concept of "separate worlds" for men and women.[20]

Kinnaird College, then, was founded for Christian students and they dominated enrollment during the first two decades of its existence. The early college experience stressed the social values of the Christian community. However, the number of Christians attending Kinnaird was not keeping pace with the number of Hindus attending at the end of the 1920s, and the Kinnaird staff had to accommodate a non-Christian student majority.

A Liberal Education for All: 1928-47

Principal McNair outlined a "three-fold task" for the college in 1936:

> It must help its Christian students to be Christian in spirit . . . ; it must

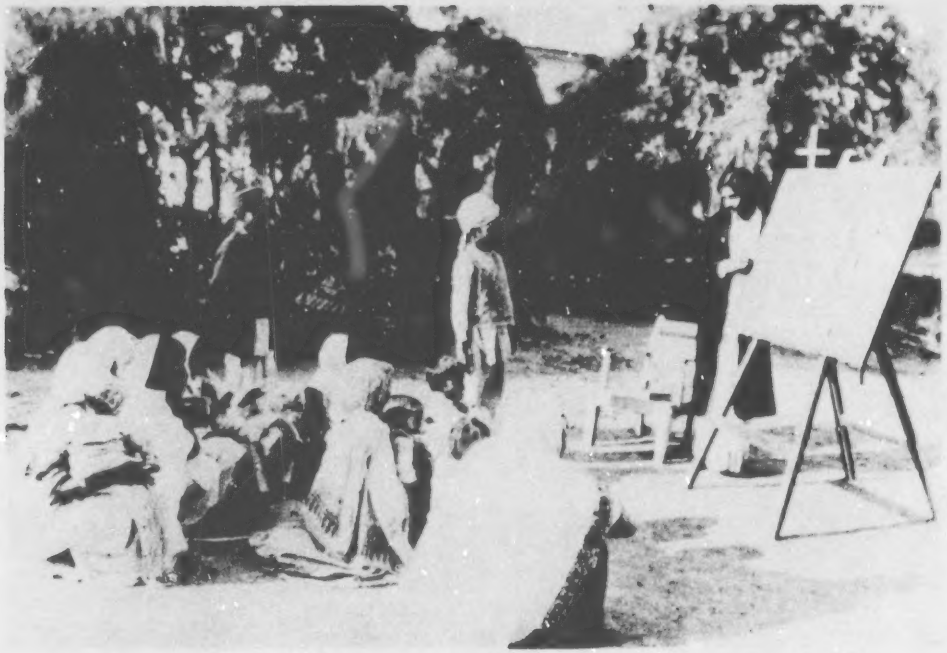


Illustration 5

Teaching Sunday School

> present the Christian message to its students belonging to other communities; and it must, as far as it is able, provide a liberal education for all. In succeeding even in part, in the fulfillment of this task, the College is breaking down barriers, and is uniting members of the different communities of the province in a fellowship impossible except in an institution founded on the Christian faith.[21]

Christian students continued to receive special treatment, as they had in previous decades. Evangelism was not repudiated, but a "liberal education for all" became the most important component of the Kinnaird experience in the 1930s and '40s. In a sense, the principal adopted a neutral role among non-Christian, sectarian groups within the college, similar to that which the provincial government claimed to hold in the larger Punjab society. Alumnae were unanimous on the subject of friendships which cut across sectarian lines. The belief held by many members of the staff -- that Christian fellowship could further sectarian friendship -- was destroyed when the Punjab was partitioned in 1947. While it lasted, however, this belief in communal harmony was an important part of the college ethos.

A liberal education at Kinnaird College included as many civic and moral lessons as it did academic ones. While the staff never directly challenged the family-centered, socialized dependency of most of the young women who attended, they attempted to instill specific values in the students. For example, the value of service to society was emphasized continuously in the rhetoric of the Kinnaird staff:

> . . . we dare to hope that some of our teaching is having the results we desire, and that our students are being prepared to meet . . . the problems that will confront them when they go out into a world of rapidly changing social conditions; and that whether in school or in the home they will always be on the side of what is for the common good, remembering that the royal way is the way of service. . . .[22]

Manners were included in the social training at Kinnaird. Principal McNair and the rest of the college staff insisted that all students conduct themselves according to certain standards of "lady-like" behavior. Sometimes these lessons were cloaked in a non-Christian idiom. One Hindu student remembered being disrespectful to a teacher and being asked to

go to the principal's office. McNair prayed in front of her that she might learn the meaning of *guru bhakti* (great respect for a spiritual teacher).[23] Another student remembered that reprimands were often prefaced by "Kinnaird College Ladies don't do" a particular thing. Students were "gently and affectionately" led to act in approved ways. Most alumnae of the 1930s and '40s believed that education at Kinnaird had been "all around education." Discipline was "inward" and "subtle," and education was "knowing what [was] expected." In short, education at Kinnaird was secondary socialization.

The college staff did not want students' social activities to interfere with their studies or to lower the college's academic standards. But, as in England, many Hindu and Sikh families sent their daughters to Kinnaird in the 1930s to "finish" their preparation for marriage, and their daughters' college results were a relatively low priority. Principal McNair noted in 1939:

> A few students are inclined to take their studies and the life of the College less seriously than is desirable and are sometimes encouraged to do so by the attitude of their home people. One father explained to me recently that his sons who were being educated for the services, must take work seriously as their whole future depended on how they fared in competitive examinations. But from his daughter who was being educated 'for culture' he expected much less! . . . The father whom I have quoted above was the father of one of our day students. Such students often have distractions of many different kinds at home which prevent them from getting as much as they might out of the years at College.[24]

The excuses for being absent from class offered by day students during the 1930s support the idea that students stayed at home for family reasons much more frequently than for individual reasons, such as illness.[25]

Marriage customs created the strongest competition between family demands and a college degree. No matter how seriously a woman was committed to her studies, her family often withdrew her from college when their matrimonial arrangements for her were completed. McNair complained several times about this practice, most bitterly in the 1940s:

> We have lost a larger number of students than usual this year on account of marriage; and as several who have been snatched away from us for this reason were promising students in the Third Year we could not but regret their going.[26]

Fifteen percent of all students in the early period and almost twice that number in the established period left Kinnaird without a degree. Hindu students left without taking a degree examination more frequently than any other religious group; half of the early drop-outs in both periods were Hindu.[27]

As the 1940s progressed, college life was disrupted by more than the matrimonial plans of some parents. While the Kinnaird staff attempted to remain aloof from political events in the Punjab, the political situation forced itself upon the college. In general, female students were not politicized as much as male students,[28] and the Kinnaird staff usually kept college life normal during times of political tension. McNair pointed with pride to the "particularly impressive" examination results for the college in 1946, a year when the elections for the Punjab Legislative Assembly and other political events distracted many students from academic work[29] (see Table 7). However, within a year, the college lost half of its staff and three-quarters of its students when the Punjab was partitioned into two sections. Lahore, with the rest of western Punjab, was transferred to the new state of Pakistan.

Secondary Socialization at Kinnaird College

Throughout the years, Kinnaird College offered students both academic and social lessons largely unchanged by staff personalities or student population. While Christian missionaries originally founded the college to serve local Christians, the college gradually became integrated into the social training patterns of the Punjabi Hindu professional class. Kinnaird students learned academic skills, especially the English language, which enabled them to pass the Punjab University F.A. and B.A. degree examinations. The value of either degree was often weighed in the exacting scales of Punjabi marriage markets. Non-academic social skills, such as polished English conversation and ease in mixing with foreigners, were also part of the calculation.

One theme of all of the social and moral lessons at Kinnaird was "civic spirit" and service to society. On the most general level, the staff attempted to turn students' attentions from their individual kin concerns to public issues. This reinforced values already held by many male members of non-Christian student families. Fathers and grandfathers of

Table 7

KINNAIRD COLLEGE STUDENTS'
UNIVERSITY DEGREE EXAMINATION RESULTS

	Intermediate, or First Arts (F.A.)			Bachelor of Arts (B.A.)		
Year	Took Exam	Passed	%	Took Exam	Passed	%
1920	10	10	100%	7	5	71%
1929	7	7	100%	6	4[a]	67%
1932	28	27	96%	15[b]	10	67%
1946	48	46	96%	43	41	95%

[a]One student passed in compartment, which meant that she failed one section of the comprehensive examination and would have to pass a retest on that part to receive her degree.

[b]One student took only the English-language portions of the test.

Source: Annual Reports of Kinnaird College.

Kinnaird students had often brought Western, individualistic values home from their own educational experiences abroad. Thus, the Christian staff did not introduce such values to their students, but rather fostered the idea that they were not reserved for men. This was the new aspect -- that women should reflect on academic and civic matters or even that women could hold responsible public positions.

Political events in twentieth-century Punjab challenged the ideal of communal harmony even as the Kinnaird staff proferred their civic lessons. The college staff taught loyalty to the colonial government, an attitude some students rejected. In the 1930s and '40s, a few alumnae reported that their nationalistic activities brought them into conflict with the staff. Political tensions between Kinnaird students and the staff, as well as within the student body, were deemphasized, but alumnae testified as to their strength. One Christian alumna who displayed a Union Jack in her hostel room in 1940 remembered paying a high price in verbal abuse from two Arya Samaj sisters.[30] Another Christian student who led a student strike at the end of the 1930s later ridiculed Principal McNair for not knowing enough Urdu to have any idea of the content of most political speeches.[31] Yet, McNair made some concessions to resident students interested in political events. She wrote to all fathers of second, third and fourth year residents in 1940, asking whether or not they would give permission for their daughters to accompany Kinnaird's chaperoned group to a student meeting on Independence Day.[32] The ideal of communal harmony had its political victories and defeats within the college compound, just as it had within the larger Lahore society.

The Kinnaird staff were agents of social control for the families of students, just as they were agents for secondary socialization, for the two processes often go hand in hand.[33] Staff members acted as parental allies even when they disagreed on details of supervision. For example, one Muslim father wrote to McNair asking why she had objected to his resident daughter going on a particular outing for which he had given his permission. McNair replied that she had objected to the student's leaving college in "an open car . . . almost entirely full of men and boys . . . [which seemed] unusual for one of our Muslim students."[34] She went on to question another issue, requesting that the father stop, or at least limit, the visiting privileges of his daughter's fiance. McNair felt that his visits distracted both the student and her friends from their studies. Despite a few strict rules, the Kinnaird staff offered its students a "liberated" college experience

The absence of purdah arrangements; the emphasis on extra-curricular participation and college democracy; the nurturing of individual initiative and assertiveness; anticipation of professional careers: the Kinnaird experience was

heavily laden with foreign values held by the missionary staff. Perhaps most important of all was the staff's emphasis on the ethic of social service. However, the staff never presented gender-free models for social behavior to their students. Rather, students were presented with expanded models of what Hindu or Muslim female gender roles could encompass. The staff did not suggest that women should choose to be wives or citizens, but that they could be both.

Notes to Chapter III

1. Ethos is "a general style of life, the way [people] do things." Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 97.

2. Kinnaird High School and College, *Report for the Year 1915* (Lahore: 1916); *Report for the Year 1917* (Lahore: 1918).

3. Margaret Mead theorized that socialization is synonymous with education and suggested that the term "enculturation" be used for the process of learning a specific culture. See Theodore Schwartz, ed., *Socialization as Cultural Communication: Development of a Theme in the Work of Margaret Mead* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976). However, Kinnaird College students learned parts of more than one culture, and "enculturation" seemed an inappropriate term.

4. Orville G. Brim, "Socialization Through the Life Cycle," in *Socialization after Childhood: Two Essays*, ed. Orville G. Brim and Stanton Wheeler (New York: John Wiley, c. 1966), p. 3. For other work on secondary socialization, see John A. Clausen, ed., *Socialization and Society* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, c. 1968) and George A. DeVos, *Socialization for Achievement: Essays on the Cultural Psychology of the Japanese* (Berkeley: University of California Press, c. 1973).

5. The many components of the college social system are described in Allen H. Barton, *Studying the Effects of College Education* (New Haven: Edward Hazer Foundation, 1959), pp. 8-9.

6. James McLachlan, *American Boarding Schools: A Historical Study* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), pp. 14, 256-58.

7. Alumnae interviewed were unanimous on this, and all former staff members commented on the family feeling in the early years. Even in the 1930s and '40s, a few alumnae spoke of McNair as a "mother to all." It seems that this familial solidarity was badly hurt at Partition.

8. Staff, *Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore* (1923), pp. 11-12.

9. M. Anderson-Scott to unknown addressee, November, 1927. This was probably a routine letter to her mission; copy in Kinnaird College files.

10. The Lahore Intermediate College for Women, opened in 1922 by the provincial government, provided a common boarding house for all students, with separate kitchens for Hindus and Muslims. Lady Hardinge Medical College for Women, which opened classes at Delhi in 1916, had gone so far as to provide separate hostels for Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians and Europeans. See *Panjab University Calendar 1922-23* (Calcutta: 1922), Part I, pp. 628, 655.

11. Staff, *Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore*, pp. 11-12.

12. *Kinnaird College, Lahore, College Handbook* (Lahore: 1950), p. 2. This is a later, and perhaps over-elaborate, description of student government. However, the importance of the Student Guild, as it was then called, goes back to the '20s. See *Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore . . . [sic] N. India* (1925), p. 5.

13. I.T. McNair, *Annual Report of Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore* (hereafter *KCR*), *1938-39*, p. 13. "One of our chief problems is how to develop initiative and a sense of individual responsibility." See chap. IV, "College Students as Daughters."

14. Interview with P. Mangat Rai, Lahore, 1977. Also see *KCR, 1921-22*, p. 8, on "public spirit," and *KCR, 1930-31*, p. 9.

15. E.A. Nathan and A.P. Annear, *Report of the Kinnaird High School and College . . . for the year 1918* (Lahore: 1919), p. 21.

16. Elizabeth Edwards, *KCR, 1924-25*, p. 9.

17. Elizabeth Edwards, *KCR, 1921-22*, p. 8.

18. Barbara Metcalf, personal communication, May, 1983.

19. For family objections, see Elizabeth Edwards, *KCR, 1922-23*, p. 9. Of course, many of the students who distinguished themselves in these debates were Christians who had been raised with fewer social restrictions to begin with. Yet there were a number of non-Christians who won debating and declamation prizes, a radical departure from prescribed behavior for any non-Christian woman in Lahore in the 1920s and '30s. Many Hindu, Sikh and especially Muslim families were still not prepared to allow such behavior in the 1940s.

20. Hanna Papanek, "Purdah: Separate Worlds and Symbolic Shelter," *Comparative Studies in Society and Culture* XV (June 1973), pp. 289-325.

21. I.T. McNair, "In Answer to the Questionnaire," sect. A, part I, pp. 4-5.

22. Staff (but almost certainly I.T. McNair), *KCR, 1930-31*, p. 9.

23. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #700 (enrolled 1937), London, 1976. The following quotations are from interviews with alumnae #80 (enrolled 1920), #618 (enrolled 1936), #700 (enrolled 1937), and #829 (enrolled 1939).

24. I.T. McNair, *KCR, 1938-39*, p. 12.

25. For some reason, many of the excuses were preserved from the late 1930s, when the college started to occupy its present site. The most frequent excuse seemed to be for weddings in the family; the next most frequent excuse was for some illness or problem in the family; followed by illness of the student. These may or may not reflect the actual reasons that students were not at college.

26. I.T. McNair, *KCR, 1945-46*, p. 11.

27. See Appendix B, Tables B-I and B-II.

28. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, *Education in Pakistan* (Karachi: Ma'aref, Ltd., 1975), pp. 263-82, especially p. 275.

29. In 1946, 804 female students, excluding 43 from Kinnaird College, appeared for the B.A. examination and 328, or 41 percent, passed. The pass percentage for Kinnaird students was 95 percent. The same year, 5,079 male candidates appeared for the B.A. examination, out of which 1,846, or 36 percent, passed. *Panjab University Report, 1946*. I.T. McNair's expression, from *KCR, 1945-46*, pp. 10-13.

30. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #759 (enrolled 1939), London, 1976.

31. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #678 (enrolled 1937), London, 1976.

32. I.T. McNair to "Dear Sir" (Fathers of all second, third and fourth year students), 20th January, 1940. Copy in Kinnaird College files. This event was organized by nationalists to symbolize their commitment to winning political independence from Britain.

33. Clausen, *Socialization and Society*, p. 6.

34. I.T. McNair to ----------, Deputy Director of Agriculture, Multan, 6th July, 1940, p. 1. Copy in Kinnaird College files.

IV

COLLEGE STUDENTS AS DAUGHTERS

The proliferation of new institutions for girls' education in the Punjab gave parents increased opportunities to send their daughters to school, but does not in itself explain why certain parents chose a school over home education. The family decision to send a daughter to any school depended on the social, political and religious behavior of that family, as well as its economic position, and Kinnaird College alumnae families were no exception. When compared to the lives of their female relatives who had some training at home, school attendance altered daughters' early experiences in all parts of British India. College attendance added a layer of secondary socialization over the psychological development and behavioral patterns already established by school age.

Elder female relatives who instructed girls at home taught them primarily religious stories and rituals along with various household skills. Begum Shaista Ikramullah, born into an "old aristocratic" Muslim family at Calcutta in 1915, described her mother's "orthodox" education:

> She was taught to read the *Qur'an* by one of the many distant [female] relatives who lived in the house. . . . girls were [also] taught to read and write in Urdu but were not encouraged to delve very deeply into literature; but such was the atmosphere that they picked up a good deal of literary appreciation from their brothers. Cooking and sewing were considered the important items of a girl's education. . . .[1]

In the 1920s, Ikramullah followed a "dual pattern" of education, which included attending an English kindergarten while studying the *Qur'an* at home. Later, she studied Urdu on her own, sometimes reading aloud to her father and mother, while learning English with a succession of English or Anglo-Indian governesses. She eventually attended an English convent school in Calcutta, but all along, she was "schooled in tradition" at home. She learned "not from long lectures on the subject but from [her] mother, from [her] aunts, from older cousins, from the maidservants, from the general atmosphere of

the family and the house, [she] somehow gleaned what was expected of [her], what was right and what was done and what was not done."[2] All of these lessons pointed toward her future marriage and tried to insure a favorable reception in her future husband's parents' home (*susral*).

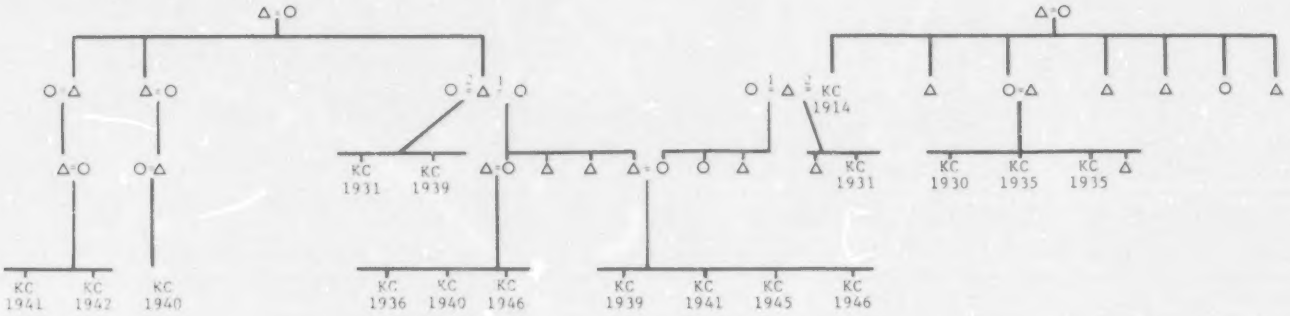
High-status Bengali Hindu girls shared similar experiences at the beginning of the twentieth century. Shudha Mazumdar, born into a landed Hindu family at Calcutta in 1899, does not describe her own mother's education, although she makes it clear that her mother could read Bengali. Several family members had a hand in Mazumdar's education: her mother taught her Hindu rituals and fasts; her eldest brother made her learn some cooking from an old family servant; and her father insisted that she improve her English by conversing with him only in that language. She followed a "dual pattern" similar to Ikramullah's, combining attendance at a convent school with Bengali lessons from a poor uncle. The father had "whole-heartedly" adopted many Western ideas, and Mazumdar's mother accepted her daughter's attending a convent school as a day scholar. However, she refused to allow her to become a boarding student on the grounds that such an experience would make arranging her marriage difficult if not impossible.[3] For Mazumdar as for Ikramullah, the goal of education was preparation for marriage, and their fathers' plans to teach them English were tolerated to the extent that their female relatives believed it would not interfere with the girls' marriage prospects.

Religion played a part in the family life of all early Kinnaird College students, much as it did for Ikramullah and Mazumdar, but girls who attended English-medium schools came from families that were in the process of altering their religious behavior. According to alumnae, only those Hindu, Sikh and Muslim families who thought of themselves as "progressive" and "enlightened" were willing to expose their daughters to the influence of missionary Christianity in order to receive an English-language education. These alumnae labeled family members opposed to Western education "orthodox." While only one woman specifically mentioned the word "secular" when describing her family, Kinnaird Hindu students came largely from families abandoning social behavior bound by strict religious rules. Changing social behavior often reflected the political commitments of family male elders. In other words, many student families adopted a kind of "religious neutrality" that encouraged norms of tolerance and secularism, and alumnae continued this trend in their own adult lives.[4] This tendency was less evident for Muslim alumnae than Hindus, although it seemed to hold among the Sikhs.

In many early alumnae families, ardent supporters and staunch opponents of Western education for girls lived side by side. Especially at the beginning of the twentieth century, men often insisted upon such education while their wives were less enthusiastic and the girls' grandmothers usually opposed

CHART 1

THREE GENERATIONS OF HINDU FAMILY MEMBERS AT KINNAIRD COLLEGE



KEY

△ Male

○ Female

= Marriage

1 First Marriage

2 Second Marriage

Note: Children are underrepresented and not in birth order.

it. Mothers' and grandmothers' conservatism reflected more concern for the girls' future marriages than a personal reaction to their husbands' and sons' ideas on women's education. By the 1930s and '40s, however, some Punjabi social groups had incorporated English-medium education for women into their list of ideal bridal traits and this, along with the higher proportion of families with educated mothers, demolished the previously clear-cut gender differences on the subject.

While some alumnae grew up in the midst of many kin, the majority lived either in a boarding school or in a nuclear household consisting only of their own parents and siblings. Interviews with alumnae confirmed that extended family ideals remained strong throughout the first half of the twentieth century, but actual behavior often depended on family finances or other factors. Geographical mobility associated with their fathers' employment was one important factor, as distance from the family home and the absence of family elders facilitated changing behavior. As Mazumdar's mother reminded her father, "Should you leave this ancestral home of yours and live elsewhere, then only in new surroundings and in altered circumstances can I think and act according to your desires. Here, I am not only your wife, but the daughter-in-law of the house."[5]

English Literacy in Lahore and the First Kinnaird Students

English-language education in the Punjab spread first through Christian converts and certain Hindu groups, reaching Muslim groups somewhat later, and the religious majorities within Kinnaird's student body followed this sequence. However, college enrollment increased mainly through specific family networks rather than through larger communal ties. A few of these networks were established between 1913 and 1922, when Kinnaird was the only women's liberal arts college in the Punjab. Several Arya Samaj families, for example, sent their daughters to Kinnaird during this period because "there was no other choice."[6] After one woman attended the college without negative effects from Christian influence, sisters, cousins and nieces would enroll. In this way, a number of socially prominent Lahore families created ties to the college that spanned three generations. I.T. McNair, principal from 1929 to 1950, explicitly encouraged recruitment within these families, and preferentially admitted the daughters of alumnae when student demand led to admissions restrictions in the 1930s.[7] Chart 1 illustrates how demographic increases in certain families that first supported women's higher education helped swell Kinnaird enrollment in the 1930s and '40s.

What families were most likely to send their daughters to Kinnaird College in 1913? Since English literacy was a

Table 8

ENGLISH LITERACY BY RELIGION AND AGE, LAHORE CITY, 1911

Religion & Age	Total Female Pop.	Literate in English %a	Total	Female	%b
Hindu					
15-20 years	2,600	19	2,000	500	25
20+ years	15,600	-	5,800	100	2
Total	26,800	3	8,800	900	10
Sikh					
15-20 years	400	3	100	10	10
20+ years	2,200	1	900	25	3
Total	3,800	1	1,100	35	3
Muslim					
15-20 years	4,700	-	900	20	2
20+ years	28,000	-	3,600	60	2
Total	51,400	-	5,000	100	2
Christian					
15-20 years	300	67	400	200	*
20+ years	1,800	78	4,600	1,400	*
Total	3,100	61	5,700	1,900	*
All Religions	85,400	4	20,800	3,000	14

*See Appendix D, Table D-II.

All figures rounded to nearest hundred, except when female English literates number fewer than 100.

%a Female English literates as a percentage of each age-grade's total females. Dash indicates less than 1%.

%b Each age-grade of female English literates as a percentage of each group's total English literates of that age.

Source: *Census of India, 1911, Vol. XIV: Punjab. Part II, Tables*, p. 131.

prerequisite for admission to Kinnaird, potential students were found only within those communities that allowed women some English-language secondary education. The 1911 Census of the Punjab reported that the small Parsi and Jain communities, along with the resident Christians, led all religious groups in the proportion of female English literates in Lahore.[8] Numerically, Hindu women between fifteen and twenty years old formed the largest potential student pool, since they outnumbered English-literate Christians ten to one. The Muslim community trailed all others in the number of female English literates, even though Muslims comprised more than half of the city's population in 1911 (see Table 8).

The English-literate Hindu women reported in the 1911 Census had not usually received their education at a school. Interviews with Kinnaird alumnae suggest that their relatives had often studied at home, sometimes with brothers' tutors, and that a few of them had taken Punjab University examinations as private candidates.[9] Some of these English-literate women were the mothers of Kinnaird students in the 1920s. For example, a Kashmiri Brahmin alumna, enrolled in 1924, described her mother's education.[10] The mother studied Urdu and Hindi at home with her male cousins, and learned English at home after her marriage. This woman felt so strongly about her own daughters' education that she moved from her husband's home in Allahabad, where family customs made it impossible to send her daughters to school, to her father's home in Lahore. She first sent all four daughters to English-language schools in Lahore, and later enrolled them at Kinnaird College. After her daughters completed their education, she returned to Allahabad. But such dedication to women's higher education was rare among non-Christian families in the Punjab, as alumnae made clear when they described their parents' education.

The pattern for Hindu, Sikh and Muslim alumnae families was usually that the father was highly educated in English, often with a foreign degree. The mother frequently came from the small proportion of English-literate women who had studied at home, but sometimes she had had only primary vernacular education. In the 1911 Lahore Census, the proportion of English literates who were females over twenty years old was about the same within the non-Christian communities; in all cases, it was less than 3 percent. Men aged twenty years or older had attained English literacy much more frequently than women within the same age group. Whatever education these women had received, institutional attendance was very unusual after primary school.

Education within Christian families was a vivid contrast to education within Hindu, Sikh and Muslim families; at least a quarter of the Christian English literates in Lahore were women over twenty years of age.[11] Some of these women never

Table 9

ENGLISH LITERACY BY RELIGION AND AGE, LAHORE CITY, 1931

Religion & Age	Total Female Pop.	Literate in English %a	Total	Female	%b
Hindu					
15-20 years	5,500	4	2,900	200	7
20+ years	23,000	3	11,900	600	5
Total	47,500	2	15,800	1,100	7
Sikh					
15-20 years	1,000	5	700	50	7
20+ years	3,800	5	1,800	200	11
Total	8,000	5	2,700	400	15
Muslim					
15-20 years	10,200	3	3,200	300	9
20+ years	43,900	2	12,600	900	7
Total	92,800	2	17,600	1,600	9
Christian					
15-20 years	700	43	1,000	300	*
20+ years	3,400	50	5,000	1,700	*
Total	6,500	37	6,600	2,400	*
All Religions	155,200	4	42,900	5,500	13

*See Appendix B, Table B-III.

All census figures rounded to nearest 100, except when female English literates number fewer than 100.

%a Female English literates as a percentage of each age-grade's total females. Dash indicates less than 1%.

%b Each age-grade of female English literates as a percentage of each group's total English literates of that age.

Source: *Census of India, 1931, Vol. XVII: Punjab. Part II, Tables*, p. 259.

married, but the mothers of almost all Lahore Christian alumnae from the early period belonged to this group. These mothers attended mission schools, and some studied beyond the matriculation examination at the end of secondary school. The education of Christian parents was often similar, but, within the Kinnaird sample, the mother occasionally had a higher education than the father.

These educational patterns started to change during the 1920s. By the mid-1930s, both Christian and Hindu alumnae reported that it was becoming "automatic" for women in their families to attend college. Enrollment at Kinnaird in 1931 reflected the Lahore Census profile for female literacy in that year with one significant exception. The enrollment was about half Christian, one-quarter Hindu, 15 percent Muslim, and 10 percent Sikh. There were also two other students, one Parsi and one Jain, on the rolls, making a total of 81 students in four classes.[12] According to the 1931 Census, more than 40 percent of the female English literates in Lahore were Christian; 20 percent were Hindu; almost 30 percent were Muslim; and the Sikh community comprised 7 percent of the group.[13] Muslim students were thus underrepresented at Kinnaird College, according to the estimates of the 1931 Census (see Table 9). Christians and Hindus, while they comprised the majority of the Kinnaird students until 1947, came from quite different family situations in the Punjab. and were not sent to college for the same reasons.

The discussion of Kinnaird alumnae falls naturally into two periods of attendance. The early period, from 1913 to 1928, includes the time when Kinnaird was the only women's liberal arts college in the Punjab. The established period begins the year I.T. McNair became principal, and extends from 1929 to 1947, when the Punjab was partitioned between independent India and Pakistan. The period under McNair covers the change from a Christian student majority to a Hindu student majority. After 1947, Kinnaird College rebuilt its student clientele in independent Pakistan, and became a Muslim-majority college.

The primary biographical sources for alumnae are the college's admissions register -- containing the names, family addresses, family religion, fathers' occupations, and other information for almost all students between 1913 and 1947 -- and personal interviews. Out of the 1,544 women registered at Kinnaird before 1947, 79 agreed to be interviewed and 389 were traced through family and friends, comprising a 30 percent non-random sample of the entire student body. The privacy of living alumnae has been protected through the use of pseudonyms.

Christian Students

The Punjab Christian community, comprising only 2 percent of the provincial population in 1911, was the only community to begin a tradition of girls' education before the twentieth century.[14] Christian families did not have the established pattern of female seclusion which kept daughters at home until marriage. Furthermore, Christian students often came from families in financial need, and these families could not afford to conform to social norms that kept women idle at home. About 15 percent of the first Christians were orphans who would be in particular need of employment training, since they had no families to arrange marriages.

As the spread of both mission and government girls' schools created teaching positions for women, educating a daughter became a good investment for a Christian family. Christian students received scholarships to study, and help in finding employment after graduation. Sometimes mission schools would support promising Christians at Kinnaird College in return for service after graduation. Foreign Christian women also provided successful role models and active encouragement.

Christian alumnae described their family life as a blend of customs adopted from foreign missionaries and those retained from their communal groups prior to conversion. Punjabi Christians lived an "anglicized" lifestyle, which was nurtured in mission schools. One account of the girls' school that became Kinnaird High School stressed that it was quite different from the mission schools for Hindu and Muslim girls inside the walls of Lahore City. At the forerunner of Kinnaird High School,

> . . . more English ways prevail. The girls have benches to sit on and knives to eat with, for in the homes of many of these children the more primitive ways are things of the past. They also wear a simple European dress, with the *chaddar* [a shawl worn for modest concealment as well as for warmth].[15]

The photograph on page 85 shows the first Kinnaird College class, all of whose members are in European dress.

At least one of these first students was an Anglo-Indian, the child of a European father and a Punjabi mother. Anglo-Indians lived near the British sections of Lahore, and, like other Punjabi Christians, were usually economically dependent upon either missionaries or the colonial government. Many Anglo-Indians took European names, sometimes to honor missionary teachers but also to obtain preference for employment.[16] Although the proportion of Anglo-Indians at Kinnaird College seems to have been relatively small, at least one knowledgeable

informant was struck by how much the Lahore Christian community imitated the lifestyle of Anglo-Indians.

What was family life like for early Christian students? Hemlotta Ghose (1896?-1983), a member of the first Kinnaird College class, offered some answers.[17] Her father was a baby when his Hindu parents converted to Christianity. As was common, the family left persecution in Bengal to start a new life in the Punjab. Ghose's father grew up in Lahore, learned English, received a medical education, and joined government service. Ghose's mother was also a Bengali migrant, although she had spent her childhood in Bengal and always longed to return there. Her older brother had converted to Christianity and moved to the Punjab, taking her with him and enrolling her at Kinnaird School for a short time. This brother arranged her marriage when she was quite young, and Ghose's mother never learned English.

Ghose's mother had never wanted her daughters to go to school. They were not needed at home to do housework, but Ghose explained that "she loved us so much our mother didn't want to be separated from us." But her father's wishes prevailed, and Ghose was sent to Christian boarding schools. She attended Kinnaird High School and was very excited to learn that college classes would be started just after she took the university matriculation examination. Her mother wanted her to finish her schooling and live at home, but her father decided that she should join the college classes. She completed her First Arts degree through Kinnaird College, then went on to receive the Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Teaching degrees through other institutions. Ghose's parents did not live long enough to see the effects of her education. Her mother died before she completed her F.A., and her father died a few years later. Ghose reported that she was never interested in marriage herself, always preferring to study. She remained single throughout her life, supporting herself as a teacher, and felt that her father had been content with her decision. He did request that she remain in Lahore, so she refused all employment promotions that would have taken her out of Lahore until after his death.

Most mothers of Kinnaird Christian alumnae were better educated than Ghose's mother, and most avidly supported women's higher education. By the 1930s, it was very rare for either Christian parent to have had a minimal education. A few mothers taught in mission schools or worked as mission doctors. Most of these employed women gave up their salaried employment when they married.

The fathers of Christian alumnae had a very wide range of occupations in the early period.[18] Religious workers, including the Punjab clergy and other mission employees, comprised the largest group. While the proportions of fathers

Illustration 7

Kinnaird College Intermediate Class, circa 1915

in government service and the professions changed over time, the profile of Christian fathers' occupations remained similar from 1913 to 1947 (see Tables 10 and 11). About two-thirds of Christian fathers during the early period were English literates.[19]

Priobala Mangat Rai (1911-), Principal of Kinnaird from 1950 to 1969, enrolled as a student in 1928. Her father (1877-1938) was a Christian convert from the Northwest Frontier Province, who had been "turned out" by his Hindu family when he converted at the age of 17. He attended Forman Christian College in Lahore and became a civil servant. Her mother, Dora Chatterji (1877-1938), was the youngest child of a Christian family. When Chatterji was nine or ten, a missionary took the family to America, where another American offered to pay for her education. After preliminary education in British India, Chatterji attended medical school in Philadelphia, receiving her M.D. in 1901 and becoming the first woman medical graduate of Punjab. She spent eight years as a mission doctor before she married and stopped working. Both of Mangat Rai's parents were equally eager for their four children to be highly educated, and sent both daughters and sons to college.[20]

Christian students attended Kinnaird College for pre-professional training during the 1930s and '40s, even though employment opportunities were narrowing. The worldwide depression caused retrenchment in mission activities and no new mission girls' schools were established in the Punjab. By 1936, the provincial government had adopted a policy of preference for non-Christian teachers to balance the representation of communal groups within the education service.[21] Yet teaching remained the most common employment goal for Christians despite these obstacles. Even when individual alumnae had wanted to train for some other employment, their families had often objected. For example, Rose, who enrolled in 1941, wanted to take a secretarial course after her B.A., but her family felt it would be "degrading" for her to work in an office.[22] Her mother, a medical doctor who had stopped working when she married, tried to convince Rose to become a doctor, but she refused. As a compromise, she took a two-year domestic science course after her B.A., and then married. Rose had had no choice about attending Kinnaird College; "it was the thing that was done" in her family.

The small size of the Punjabi Christian community, its relative poverty and predominantly rural character, all inhibited the number of young Christian women sent to college. Those Christian women who did attend came primarily from urban homes. During the first two decades of Kinnaird's operation, only a quarter of the Christian students were from Lahore, although another two-thirds came from urban homes throughout the Punjab and other areas of North India.[23] After 1929, this high proportion of urban students declined a little. Only a

Table 10

FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS BY RELIGION, EARLY PERIOD (1913-28)

Occupation	Christian		Hindu		Muslim		Sikh		Other		Total Each Occupational Category
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
"Service," agriculture, miscellaneous	11	11.6	3	5.7	0	0	4	40.0	0	0	18
Government Service	14	14.7	4	7.5	4	44.4	0	0	0	0	22
Education	13	13.7	6	11.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	19
Business	6	6.3	10	18.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	19
Landlord	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	30.0	1
Religious Worker	18	18.9	2	3.8	0	0	1	10.0	0	0	21
Professions	15	15.8	21	39.6	2	22.2	2	20.0	5	50.0	45
Retired	4	4.2	5	9.4	1	11.1	1	10.0	1	10.0	12
Deceased	14	14.7	2	3.8	2	22.2	2	20.0	0	0	20
Total Each Religion	95		53		9		10		10		177
Total Percent		99.9		100.0		99.9		100.0		100.0	

Number of Missing Observations=25
Source: Admissions Register, Kinnaird College.

few rural Christians attended Kinnaird, mostly those hand-picked by various missionaries connected with the college.

In 1925, Christians accounted for half of the Kinnaird student body but their proportion steadily declined until it was only 16 percent of the student body in 1947.[24] The Hindu, Sikh and Muslim communities sent their daughters to Kinnaird much more frequently in the 1930s and '40s than they had in the '20s, and non-Christians quickly outnumbered Christians at Kinnaird.

Hindu Students

Hindu families, led by Kashmiri Brahmins and Punjabi Khatris, established a commitment to English-language, Western education in the twentieth century that spilled over from their sons to their daughters and daughters-in-law. English education for men had been the key to prestigious government employment at the end of the nineteenth century, and those Punjabi families that could afford to do so sent their sons to Britain to study law and economics.[25] The legal, medical and engineering professions, from training to practice, developed in the Punjab as part of the colonial occupational structure. Besides government employment and these professions, additional business opportunities resulted from government public works contracts. These various employment opportunities encouraged families to educate their sons in English-medium institutions.

Khatri men numerically dominated both enrollment in colleges and the associated professions in late nineteenth-century Punjab, while their younger female relatives filled Kinnaird College in the 1930s and '40s (see Table 12). About 40 percent of the Kinnaird Hindu fathers in the early period were professionals, as were a quarter of the Hindus in the period from 1929-47 (see Tables 10 and 11). Ninety percent of Hindu fathers were English-literate in the early period.[26] English education for the women of a particular Hindu family, then, followed English education for the men by a generation or two.

If the 1911 Census showed that some Hindu women were becoming English-educated before Kinnaird started classes in 1913, what caused the shift from home education to institutional education for women? There were direct connections between male employment in the English-speaking sector of Punjabi society and support of women's institutional education. Ian Kerr has suggested a number of activities, public service and charitable works in particular, through which the British "deliberately encouraged the nouveau riche to win honor and recognition."[27] Sir Ganga Ram, a government engineer and private entrepreneur, amassed a fortune with which he

Table 11

FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS BY RELIGION, ESTABLISHED PERIOD (1929-47)

Occupation	Christian		Hindu		Muslim		Sikh		Other		Total Each Occupational Category
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
"Service," agriculture, miscellaneous	29	12.5	21	3.2	12	6.3	19	9.7	0	0	81
Government Service	48	20.7	168	25.3	86	45.3	70	35.9	3	25.0	375
Education	23	9.9	44	6.6	7	3.7	1	.5	1	8.3	76
Business	9	3.9	151	22.7	13	6.8	35	17.9	3	25.0	211
Landlord	5	2.2	26	3.9	6	3.2	20	10.3	0	0	57
Religious Worker	44	19.0	3	.5	1	.5	0	0	0	0	48
Professions	18	7.8	168	25.3	31	16.3	29	14.9	4	33.3	250
Retired	16	6.9	33	5.0	19	10.0	11	5.6	1	8.3	80
Deceased	40	17.2	50	7.5	15	7.9	10	5.1	0	0	115
Total Each Religion	232		664		190		195		12		1,293
Total Percent		100.1		100.0		100.0		99.9		99.9	

Number of Missing Observations=46.

Source: Admissions Register, Kinnaird College.

endowed schools and dispensaries. The institutional expression of his philanthropy was sometimes connected with government social service projects. For example, when the provincial government opened a Hindu Widows Home in 1921, Sir Ganga Ram donated the building. He also established a Charity Trust which founded the Sir Ganga Ram Hindu Girls' School after his death.[28] A less wealthy man might simply have sent his daughter to an English-language school to demonstrate his progressive views and to support government efforts to spread institutional education for women. The British government rewarded those families whose social behavior imitated British models as well as those whose political beliefs agreed with the colonial point of view.

While close association with the colonial government may have influenced a father's decision to send his daughter to school, the admiration of many Punjabi men for the dedication of British educators, including missionaries, affected their decisions to send their daughters to Kinnaird College. Hindu alumnae insisted that their fathers had great respect for English education in general and Christian schools in particular. In the latter case, the personality of the principal was often the most important factor. Referring to the late 1880s and '90s, Prakash Tandon vividly described his father's own educational zeal, and the general respect accorded British educators and doctors dedicated to public service in their province.[29] Mission schools and colleges had a reputation for high academic standards, but alumnae reported that their fathers were especially impressed by the high moral standards believed to be taught in mission institutions.

English-educated professional and government-service men were a geographically mobile group in early twentieth-century Punjab. Lahore was a magnet, drawing professionals for both education and eventual retirement, even if they established their professional practices elsewhere.[30] Government service required higher education, usually at Lahore, and frequent transfers throughout the province. These Hindu men very often worked in one or more places distant from where they had grown up and where their extended families lived. Sometimes these men left their wives and children with family elders; more frequently they took their nuclear families from posting to posting. Kinnaird alumnae from such families reported spending holidays and special events with their extended families.

Geographical mobility meant decreased opportunities for family elders to monitor nuclear family lifestyles; increased educational opportunities for daughters was only one part of the social latitude enjoyed by Punjabi professional and "service" families. At the turn of the century, an English-educated Hindu man, whose marriage had certainly been arranged by his parents, might have made some effort to have his wife educated.[31] But he would have been even more concerned about

Table 12

KINNAIRD COLLEGE HINDU STUDENTS,
BY CASTE

	Early Period 1913-28		Established Period 1929-47	
Caste	N	%	N	%
Brahmin	11	22	75	15.5
*Rajput	4	8	22	4.5
$Khatri	32	64	324	67.0
#Arora, Bania and Sud	3	6	64	13.0
Total Caste Known	50	100	485	100.0
Caste Unknown	19		186	
All Hindu and Brahmo Samaj students categorized	69		671	

*The Rajput count includes four students in the established period whose fathers' castes could not be determined but who married Rajputs.

$The Khatri count includes five students in the early period and twelve students in the established period whose fathers' castes could not be determined but who married Khatris.

#The Arora, Bania and Sud count includes one in the early period and three in the established period whose fathers' castes could not be determined but who married an Arora, Bania or Sud.

Source: Admissions Register, Kinnaird College. No castes were identified in the register. Students' fathers' names were classified according to *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Panjab and N.W. Frontier Provinces*, compiled by H.A. Rose (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Panjab, 1919); and *Panjab Castes* (Patiala: Director, Languages Department, Punjab, 1970). [Reprint of the chapter on "The Races, Castes and Tribes of the People" by Sir Denzil Ibbetson, KCSI, in the *Report of the Census of the Panjab* (1883)]

the education of his daughters. Promilla, an alumna enrolled in 1919, discussed how her father's position in life and her own marriage influenced her education.[32] Promilla's paternal grandfather was an "orthodox" Khatri from Jhang District, who refused to finance an English education for his son. After starting his education in local schools, Promilla's father left home for Lahore, where he tutored younger students to finance his own law classes. He also joined the Arya Samaj. His marriage had been arranged much earlier to an illiterate woman who remained uneducated but did not oppose education for her daughters. The eldest daughter studied Hindi at home with a tutor. Promilla, the youngest child, was the first daughter to go to school. By the time she was five or six, her father "had established himself" as a lawyer and "felt enough self-confidence" to send her to the Arya Samaj girls' school at Jullunder. After two years, she transferred to Queen Mary College, a government boarding school in Lahore, where she took the matriculation and the F.A. examinations.[33] Meanwhile, her father had settled the family in Lahore within a short walk of Kinnaird's first location on Empress Road, and she enrolled at the college for the B.A. course.

Promilla's family chose a husband for her shortly after she entered Kinnaird, but he was still at Cambridge. Her fiance returned after the end of World War I, and her parents were eager for her to marry despite her approaching B.A. examinations. Promilla left Kinnaird to marry before her examinations, for her family argued that she could continue her studies after she accompanied her husband back to England. Promilla did, in fact, study at Cambridge while her husband finished his preparation for a law career, but she never completed her B.A. degree.

Most decisions to send a young Hindu woman to college were made by her father. Reform-minded Hindu men wanted to give their daughters the opportunity to show that women were capable of college-level studies. Gail Minault has shown what an important symbol the status of women became for political liberals in the early twentieth century.[34] Those Hindu women allowed to take the university examinations generally performed well. However, a university degree itself seemed relatively unimportant for their families, since early Hindu alumnae left without finishing a degree more frequently than any other communal group.[35]

While these Hindus were the first women in their families to attend college classes, some of their mothers were also leaving home for new social activities. Women, more than men, had been isolated within their own kin groups as long as strict domestic seclusion was the social norm. Many mothers of early alumnae left their homes to participate in a variety of gender-segregated voluntary organizations. One Kashmiri Brahmin alumna described her mother's involvement in a

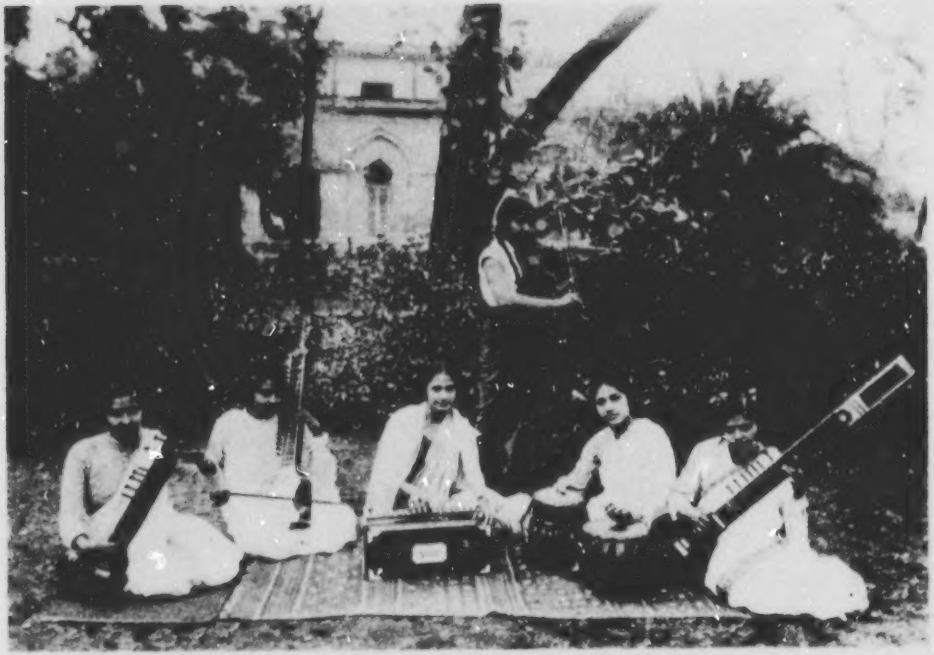


Illustration 8

Kinnaird College Students with Musical Instruments, circa 1934

short-lived Ladies Recreation Club which provided conversation and sports such as badminton for women both in and out of purdah. A Khatri alumna described the Cosmopolitan Club, an organization for Indians housed in Lawrence Gardens. The club had tennis courts and held regular social events.[36] Kinnaird students sometimes participated in the activities of these women's clubs. For example, the students gave dramatic performances for the Lahore Purdah Club in 1920.[37] The All-India Women's Conference provided a national voluntary organization for women interested in social welfare issues, and two early alumnae related their experiences as life-long members of the conference. Both women's clubs and women's colleges provided a meeting ground for social interaction not based on established kin groups, and allowed women to venture from their homes without encountering males from outside of their families.

Clearly, both mothers who joined clubs and daughters who attended college enjoyed considerable leisure time. Early Hindu alumnae came from economically privileged backgrounds, where servants and elder female relatives in the home left daughters free from domestic responsibility. English education both structured the time of these idle daughters and enhanced the social status of their families. Thus, English education and university degrees through Kinnaird College became a kind of social accomplishment for some urban Hindu women, just as other types of feminine accomplishments have been regarded as valuable pursuits for idle daughters. A parallel situation developed in early nineteenth-century Britain, where women's education catered to wealthy families that wanted their daughters to play the piano, sing, and speak French.[38] English education for many Punjabi Hindu women was an accomplishment in the same sense that piano-playing or speaking French had been for British women.

Women's educational accomplishments were valued in Punjabi Hindu marriage networks, especially in the 1930s and '40s. By the third decade of the century, Hindu alumnae came from families where, in the words of one graduate, college education for women was "the accepted thing" and "the B.A. was considered a must." Some were daughters of early alumnae, and English education had been part of their families' lifestyles for at least two generations. When asked why they or their families had chosen Kinnaird College, alumnae often claimed that Kinnaird was the "best" college in Lahore, or that they were attracted to the social status of attendance. The prestige of an English education from the "best" women's college made it an attractive investment for families that wanted their daughters to marry professional men rather than have professional careers themselves. While no alumna suggested that she had been sent to Kinnaird to increase her chances for a good marriage, there was a close relationship between education and marriage networks. Kinnaird's Principal McNair

described this relationship in 1936:

> It is beyond dispute that the explanation of the present demand for women's education in the Punjab is largely social. The young men of the province are demanding educated brides. Education is looked on as a passport to marriage, and parents send their daughters to college as one important step in arranging a good marriage.[39]

Principal McNair agreed that college attendance could be considered a preparation for marriage. She also claimed, in 1936, that

> A liberal education is in its own way in these days no poor preparation for married life. For it helps to banish a dualism from the life of the average educated man in India who until recently moved in one set of ideas in his public and professional life, and in quite another world in his home life, where the women folk saw to it that the old traditions of orthodox Hinduism or Islam were maintained.[40]

The dualism described by McNair was real enough within the families of early Hindu alumnae. They remembered a large gap between the values of their fathers and those of their mothers, using the word "progressive" to mean the Western and secular values of their fathers and "orthodox" to indicate the caste-specific values of their mothers. As McNair realized, this dualism was on the wane within families that sent their daughters to Kinnaird in the 1930s and '40s.

Punjabi Hindu families varied widely in their religious concerns and practices. On one extreme was the upbringing of Saraswati, an alumna from a wealthy Khatri family, who enrolled at Kinnaird in 1925.[41] Saraswati grew up in a large extended family. Her mother died when she was three years old, and her father married her mother's younger sister soon afterwards. This aunt/stepmother continued the religious practices of her own "orthodox" mother, even though her "progressive" father had sent her to Kinnaird, where she was one of the first Punjabi Hindu women to receive the F.A. degree after college attendance. Saraswati accompanied her elder sisters to Kinnaird School at an early age, and recalled washing her hands if she touched a Christian girl. According to Hindu caste rules of behavior, Christians were ritually impure and therefore "untouchable," just as were the lowest Hindu social groups. Saraswati also remembered having separate

clothes for school that she was not permitted to wear at home, and being forbidden ever to eat at school. After her stepmother died in 1918, Saraswati gave up many of these caste rules, and when she enrolled at Kinnaird seven years later, caste restrictions were becoming much less important in her life. But Saraswati was unique among early Hindu alumnae, either for the emphasis her stepmother placed on caste behavior or for her willingness to discuss such behavior.

Non-observance of caste rules was reported by all other early Hindu alumnae. Savitri, sent to Kinnaird in 1920 from a Khatri Arya Samaj family known for its commitment to women's education, reported that her nationalist father would not allow any caste dining restrictions in his house.[42] He had "very close" Muslim friends and Savitri claimed to be unaware of dining restrictions among other Hindus until she was "grown up." Savitri's mother was the eldest daughter of her family and had been sheltered at home, although she had received some education along with her brothers. After marriage, Savitri's mother was forced to relinquish all the caste rules of behavior she had learned in her natal home. Thus, a few Hindu families that sent their daughters to Kinnaird, like Saraswati's family, maintained caste restrictions on behavior and only allowed their daughters to be day students. However, the majority of early Hindu alumnae, like Savitri, grew up in families where a secular trend had already appeared in their social lives.

Several Hindu alumnae from the early period reported that they knew less about their religion than their mothers had known. Savitri expressed the effect of institutional education on the transmission of religio-cultural knowledge within her family in this way:

> . . . education [in her grandmother's day] was education by word. She knew [the *Bhagavad*] *Gita*; she knew religious books; she knew lots and lots of stories; and everything her mother taught her, she taught her daughters.
>
> Q. Did you learn from your mother the same kind of stories?
>
> . . . not the same because I went to school so that old system was broken . . . we have really missed a great deal . . . and they learned a great deal, in a joint family, from the others. . .[43]

Other alumnae supported the idea that institutional schooling for girls had played a major part in the secularization of their lifestyles. However, the crucial influences had occurred before college age. Rama Mehta reported a similar

secularizing trend among Christian mission-educated women roughly contemporary with Kinnaird College established period alumnae.[44]

The most extreme attempt to change the religious practices which non-Christian students learned at home took place in convent schools. Teachers pressured non-Christian students in a variety of ways. Tuition fees of some convent schools were lower if a student took catechism class; holy pictures were awarded as academic prizes; and students were taught Christian prayers and expected to repeat these at home during the holidays.

By comparison, the Kinnaird Christian staff seemed tolerant to those who had been in the "grip" of the nuns. One alumna recalled a classmate who had pretended she wanted to convert to Christianity to receive attention and gifts from the staff, but in the end did not convert.[45] Otherwise, when asked about the religious influence at Kinnaird College, Hindu alumnae generally had a positive report. Most enjoyed the hymn singing, although one reported mischievously singing *alu layou* ("bring the potatoes") instead of "alleluia." No alumna felt that Christianity was forced upon students, despite required Scripture classes. Yet very few Kinnaird Hindu alumnae remained untouched by the exposure to Christianity. A few who live abroad still attend occasional church services, while others responded to Christian teachings by intensely examining their own religious heritage.

The most important variable in the transmission of Hindu religious practices was the strength of the mother's beliefs. If the mother were religious-minded, she made sure that her daughter received religious instruction from her, regardless of her schooling. The mothers of Kinnaird Hindu alumnae probably worried more than they needed to about the Christian influence at the college, since no Kinnaird staff member or alumna reported the conversion of any student.

Many Hindu alumnae from the 1930s and '40s related that religion had not been emphasized in their own homes when they were children. An Arora alumna from Lahore, who enrolled in 1941, revealed that there had been no rituals at all in her Arya Samaj household when she was a child. However, she grew up with a strong belief in "Hindu philosophy" and felt that the *Bhagavad Gita* was a very "practical book." She was eager to have her own daughters learn about Hindu philosophy and had talked with them about the *Gita*. This alumna stood out among all Hindu alumnae from the 1930s and 1940s, because few tried to pass on religious beliefs to their own children. A Brahmin alumna of this period had "never mentioned the subject" to her daughter. Others felt that they "couldn't force children into beliefs" or thought children would learn "by osmosis." Two Hindu alumnae described at length their own

search for a religious "anchor." One of these, a Bania enrolled in 1936, was drawn to Sikhism, and both she and her daughter were trying to learn more about that religion.[46]

Some families sent their daughters to Kinnaird specifically to broaden their religious background. One alumna, who enrolled in 1940, reported that her father sent her to Kinnaird "to get [her] away from a communal atmosphere" in the local Arya Samaj school.[47] Her father attended the Arya Samaj college in Lahore and his wife was from a well-known Arya Samaj family. This Arora couple lived in the Northwest Frontier Province where the family business was located. Over the mother's strong objections, and because of his great respect for the discipline and quality of the education in Christian institutions, the father insisted on sending their daughters to board at Christian schools in Lahore.

In general, early Kinnaird Hindu students grew up in families that were experimenting with a new lifestyle. Within their families, the English language and Western education nad attained both respect and prestige, "progressive" and "orthodix" behavior existed side by side, and women received some education and participated to some extent in non-kin social activities. Their lifestyle was urban, with Lahore as its lodestar.[48] While members sometimes owned land and inherited wealth, most families relied on the economic potential of an English-language education, and often close association with the colonial government. Geographical mobility gave them relative independence from family elders' values and a relatively wide social latitude. By the 1930s, this lifestyle was firmly established, and included college education for women. Female social roles remained circumscribed, but educated women were gaining the potential to support themselves and to expand their roles.

Muslims and Sikhs

Muslim families lagged behind Punjabi Hindus in sending their children to English-language schools at the end of the nineteenth century. Only a few Muslims "at the top" of Lahore society had sent their daughters to school by 1913.[49] Begum Shah Nawaz, daughter of a well-known *sharif* family and a famous nationalist in her own right, wrote an account of her childhood and early schooling in Lahore. Her father first sent her to Victoria School, a government secondary school for girls. She was carried back and forth from her home in a *doli*, a covered litter, to conform to purdah restrictions against being seen in public. In 1908, she and her sister were among the first students to enroll at the new Queen Mary School. Shah Nawaz continued her studies until 1912, a year after her arranged marriage at fifteen. She remained a strong advocate of women's higher education in Lahore and enrolled her

daughter Mumtaz at Kinnaird College in 1929. Although Mumtaz decided to attend college in New Delhi instead of Lahore, the Shah Nawaz family remained patrons of Kinnaird, and a number of less famous relatives attended the college.

The first Muslim student at Kinnaird College enrolled in 1916, and dedicated her life to proving that purdah was no bar to female educational accomplishment. Khadijah Begum Ferozuddin (1895-1945?) became highly educated, remained single, and worked all her life in government gender-segregated institutions.[50] Ferozuddin and her fellow Muslims in purdah achieved mobility with concealment by wearing a burqah, a tent-like outer garment, in public. The photograph on page shows a group of Muslim students dressed to leave the college grounds.

What characterized the Muslim families that sent their daughters to Kinnaird? Like Hindus, Muslim alumnae usually had fathers who were highly educated in English. Muslim fathers were not predominantly from any one occupational category in either the early or the established period, although fathers were 100 percent English-literate in the early period and 80 percent English-literate after 1929.[51] The mothers of Muslim alumnae rarely were English-educated, although they were often literate in Urdu and Persian. While Muslim students were primarily from urban homes, their geographical spread was quite wide in the early period. After 1929, about half of them were from Lahore.[52]

According to alumnae, their fathers, eager for the women of the family to "do something new," made the decision to send Muslim students to Kinnaird.[53] In fact, alumnae reported that their mothers and other female relatives were almost always strongly opposed to this decision. One woman talked about how college education led to both an enormous change in expectations of achievement for Muslim daughters and a new geographical mobility. Sugra's father wanted her to become a doctor or a lawyer, or at least to study domestic science abroad. After her B.A. in 1934, her father offered to buy Sugra a car if she would study law. Sugra refused his offers in favor of boarding at a Christian mission college in Lucknow while studying for an M.A. in English Literature. Although her choice was not as dramatic as the one her father wished, it was radical in the late 1930s for an unmarried Muslim woman to live independently hundreds of miles away from her family. Eventually, Sugra went to London for teachers' training, and taught in women's colleges until her retirement.

Kinnaird College was not generally patronized before 1947 even by those Muslim families that wanted Western-style higher education for their daughters. After 1922, the government's Lahore College for Women provided purdah accommodations

for its students and thus attracted Muslims. The enrollment at Lahore College in 1931 was 6 percent Christian, half Hindu, 30 percent Muslim, and 13 percent Sikh. Thus, the proportion of Muslim women studying at Lahore College was twice the proportion studying at Kinnaird, and very similar to the proportion of Muslims among English literate women in Lahore.[54] On the whole, Muslim fathers who decided to send their daughters to Kinnaird had exceptionally liberal convictions about women's education.

Kinnaird student life seemed scandalously liberal to the female relatives of some early Muslim alumnae. For example, Hamida, daughter of a Sayyid family from Bahawalpur State, grew up in strict purdah, and had always worn a burqah outside of her house.[55] She described her father as an "agriculturalist," by which she meant that he was the eldest son of his family and managed the family lands, even though he had earned an M.A. in Economics at Government College, Lahore. Hamida was the eldest child, and the first woman in her family to receive an English-language education. She attended a local school until she was eight years old, after which she was kept home by her mother. Her father and his brother thereafter coached her at home, and she took the university matriculation examination when she was sixteen. Since she was in purdah, she was given a separate room with a matron to administer the examination, even though she was the only girl in her area to appear. Her father sent her to Kinnaird College in 1927, despite the objections of everyone in their family, all of whom worried that she would be converted to Christianity or lose her Muslim identity. The family fears were confirmed to some extent by Hamida's behavior while at Kinnaird, since she did not wear a burqah when she went out on college excursions. Her Lahore relatives complained about her behavior to her father, but he ignored them. Hamida spent four years at the college, mostly as the only Muslim in residence, but reported no difficulty in maintaining her own religious practices, including daily prayers.

Like Muslims, Sikh students were a minority at Kinnaird College. About the same number of Sikhs and Muslims attended Kinnaird between 1913 and 1947, despite the larger pool of potential students within the Muslim majority community (see Tables 8 and 9). Sikh students' fathers, unlike Muslim students' fathers, were represented in a relatively small proportion of occupations requiring English literacy. Furthermore, a relatively high proportion were from small towns and rural areas. These two characteristics were often connected, because Sikhs comprised the largest group of fathers in agriculture. However, in the established period, about half of the Sikh fathers were English literates.[56]

Sikh families that sent daughters to Kinnaird College, like Hindu and Muslim families, often included individuals

Illustration 9

Kinnaird College Muslim Students near Lake Road Gate, circa 1930

with conflicting values, due to the uneven acceptance of Westernized behavior. Balwant Kaur, enrolled in 1939, described the very different ways her parents had grown up.[57] Her paternal grandfather was a "rich aristocrat" who owned a great deal of land and traveled abroad. Her maternal grandfather was also a landowner, but he stayed his lands near Sialkot. Her father was sent to Eton and completed his higher education in England, becoming a "very Westernized barrister." Her mother grew up in "orthodox Sardar" style, and her only education at home was learning to read the Sikh holy book, the *Guru Granth Sahib*. Balwant's parents were married before her father left for England, and her paternal grandmother took charge of her mother's life when she was in her early teens. Although her in-laws hired a governess to teach her English, Balwant's mother was unsure that her husband wanted her to learn, and so she made no effort.

A tangible example of differing social standards in the two families concerned her mother's attire as a new bride. Three days after their marriage, as was the custom, her mother and father visited her mother's natal home. Her mother-in-law had dressed her fashionably for the trip, and gave her a thin chiffon veil to wear. Her own father was "furious" that she had traveled home dressed so immodestly, and her mother made her wear a thick *chaddar* (shawl) on the return trip. When she returned to her in-laws, her mother-in-law was "furious" that she had traveled in such dowdy clothing. The burden of adjustment to many conflicting demands must have been heavy for a young bride, but Balwant's mother had no choice but to conform to the values of her husband's family.

Balwant's life has been dramatically different from her mother's. When Balwant was growing up, her mother insisted on purdah restrictions, but her mother's direct control over her behavior was limited early. The death of Balwant's elder sister caused her parents to send her away from the grieving household to board at a convent school in Lahore. After her matriculation examination, she returned home to Amritsar and was a day student at the local Government College for F.A. classes. Her father then sent her to Kinnaird for B.A. classes. Balwant felt that she learned tolerance for others and a great deal of self-confidence at Kinnaird College. As she put it, "nothing was forced on you and you learned to make decisions." She completed her B.A., and went on to do an M.A. at Lahore College and teachers' training at a Hindu institution. Her parents arranged her marriage as soon as she finished this training, and she moved to Calcutta, where her husband had his business.

Balwant was considerably older at the time of her marriage than her mother had been, and had developed self-confidence in her own views. Her mother lived out the conflicts in her own marriage, but Balwant was less willing to

live according to the ideas of others. She stayed with her husband until her two daughters were teenagers, and then moved to England with her children. Such a drastic move was possible partially because she had inherited some money from her father and partially because college had prepared her to teach. Her education gave her the confidence in her own ideas and the economic potential to be self-sufficient, even though she did not realize this potential immediately after finishing her degree. In other words, Balwant's education gave her adult options undreamed of by her mother.

Expectations for Educated Daughters

Sending a daughter to school changed primary socialization patterns within Punjabi families. Girls were no longer kept at the side of elder females, learning ritual behavior by imitating the daily religious observances of women in the household, receiving lessons in cooking and sewing, and learning nurturing roles by caring for younger siblings. They continued to receive some instruction from women at home, but spent an important part of their learning years at school.

The type of education a student's mother had received was as important for the student's personality development as the kind of education the student herself received. Daughters of educated mothers were more likely to finish their undergraduate education and to make decisions about their own futures than were daughters of uneducated mothers. Nevertheless, the home values taught daughters even by Western-educated parents were restrictive. College attendance, as a secondary socialization process, could only mold and influence the individual personalities which were formed in the family setting.

The norm for early twentieth-century non-Christian Punjabi women was confinement within their own female kin networks, and purdah customs did not immediately wither away within families committed to English education. As David Lelyveld noted about *sharif* Muslim culture in the nineteenth century, for women "the ideal was to stay home from marriage to death, visited [by other women] but not visiting, carried in, as the saying went, in a bridal palanquin, carried out in a coffin."[58] Of course, this was the most extreme limitation of female social options, an ideal by no means repudiated by Muslim families in the early twentieth century. Such restrictiveness encouraged dependency and submission to elders, personality traits that left even many college-educated women passive.[59] Others, perhaps those with especially close ties to their fathers, developed more independent personalities.

Young women set to college had a new stage added to their lives -- a stage of adolescence. College-educated women were married later than their peers without higher education, which

allowed them additional time to develop their individual personalities before assuming the new identity of a wife. For example, Hindu alumnae from the early period reported that they were five to ten years older at the time they married than their mothers had been, and alumnae thus lived longer with their natal families.

This longer period in their natal homes created new relationships within the family. Fathers often developed an intellectual companionship with their daughters, especially when their wives were uneducated or deceased. The father usually decided the kind of education his daughter would receive and took great interest in her progress. Ved Mehta, in his recollections of growing up in early twentieth-century Punjab, described the discussions between his college-age sisters and his father. The sisters came home from college "exhilarated by the new ideas of western culture" and "curious about Christianity and western philosophy." Since their father had been abroad, they turned to him with many questions, which he answered at what Mehta called their "dinner table school." The most famous examples of this intellectual companionship were found in families dedicated to politics, such as between Sir Mohammad Shafi and his daughter Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz. To some extent, this same pattern appears to have existed in Bengal throughout the twentieth century, and the autobiographies of Ikramullah and Mazumdar, as well as Roy's *Bengali Women*, describe it.[61]

Most Kinnaird students were quite young when they attended the college, certainly younger than the contemporary American college student, and their personalities could be described as formed but naive. As one Christian alumna generalized, "You learn your original habits at home and these make you what you are. At college, you practice what you are."[62] It was the only time of practice for most non-Christian students, since their parents arranged their marriages during or immediately after their time in college.

At Kinnaird, students were exposed to a variety of political and social ideas, perhaps for the first time in their lives. They heard British loyalists and nationalist political ideas; they saw foreign social customs as well as Punjabi customs either more liberal or more restrictive than those within their own families. They entered tied to their own kin group, but learned to fit into the college community, with its ideal of intercommunal friendship and cooperation. Several alumnae referred to a "broadening of outlook" that they received at college and used Kinnaird as an example of the "all around education" promoted by the British. Under Principal McNair, Kinnaird students celebrated communal variety by observing major religious festivals for each group and imbibed civic training for a multicultural elite society.

Alumnae families wanted their daughters to have the social skills which would equip them for an elite status dependent upon their husbands' professions rather than their own achievements.[63] Families expected the Kinnaird staff to give their daughters a broad training appropriate to this aim. The staff cooperated with parental desires to groom young women for marital social responsibilities and acted as parental allies in matters of social control. However, they went beyond parental aims when they emphasized expanded models of what Hindu or Muslim women's potential social roles might be.

Christian students described little difference between their home values and those taught at Kinnaird, but Hindu, Sikh and Muslim students sometimes faced conflicting female role ideals at home. College values emphasized female activity, while their home values often stressed female passivity outside of the domestic sphere. The Kinnaird staff taught alumnae the specific role of responsible citizen within the acknowledged restrictions of Punjabi society. Alumnae felt that their teachers expected them to do more than become English-literate housewives, yet they knew that many of their behavioral choices after college would be limited by their families' expectations. These alumnae seldom questioned their parents' right to decide whether or not they could work and whom they should marry.

Available evidence does not support the idea that Western education, at Kinnaird or elsewhere, led directly to greater personal autonomy for elite daughters. The intellectual, moral or civic content of a girl's education had little weight in the expectations of her family. Even if a young woman was not directly involved in marriage arrangements herself, preparations at home often conflicted with her college studies and removed her physically or emotionally from outside influence. Those daughters who were open to the lessons taught at Kinnaird and who absorbed the college ethos sometimes wrestled with conflicts between family expectations and their own increased sense of confidence and self-worth. However, by and large alumnae developed this self-confidence after their college experience.

Rama Mehta's study, *The Western Educated Hindu Woman*, provides some comparative data for established-period Kinnaird Hindu alumnae. Trying "to find out to what extent traditional customs and values are still operative in Indian society," Mehta interviewed fifty Hindu women "from different castes and from different provinces in India, with a B.A. or an M.A. degree from an Indian university and primary or secondary education in a Christian Mission School where English was the medium of instruction. . . . [In addition] the respondents . . . were between the ages of twenty and twenty-five in 1947, and were all married."[64] She found that all respondents' parents had had "no definite expectations" for their education, but had taught them throughout childhood and adolescence

that "for all women the greatest fulfillment lay in being married and 'serving others.' The 'other' was always the family, immediate or extended." All of the respondents went on to college because their fathers were unwilling to see them married at the age of 15 or 16. About a third of the respondents wanted to work before getting married, but were not allowed to take paid employment. At that time, girls from "good families" did not work because "the orthodox and affluent in Hindu society equated work with necessity and female immodesty. . . ." Most of Mehta's sample (42 out of 50) had arranged marriages, while the others happened to like potential partners who were approved by their parents. Not one would have been willing to challenge her parents' wishes in the matter of her marriage partner. For the majority, "being educated with Western ideas and being exposed to a Western way of life did not undermine the authority of parents to enforce old values."

College education increased women's awareness of life as a series of choices; indeed, education gave many individual women life choices for the first time. At the beginning of the twentieth century, practically all Punjabi women anticipated becoming wives and mothers. Respectable husbands supported their families, and women worked only if financial need outweighed status considerations. Women were dependent throughout their lives, and others, starting with their own parents and continuing with their husbands and in-laws, made their choices for them. Higher education at Kinnaird College, however, both trained a woman's mind and increased her self-confidence. If it did not always overcome the deep-seated passivity taught to Punjabi girls, it did encourage some acknowledgment of individual life choices.

Notes to Chapter IV

1. Begum Shaista Ikramullah, *From Purdah to Parliament* (London: The Cresset Press, 1963), pp. 8-9.

2. Ibid., pp. 29-31, 50.

3. Shudha Mazumdar, *A Pattern of Life: The Memoirs of an Indian Woman* (Columbia, MO: South Asia Books, 1977), p. 20, 27-28, 44-45, 51, 56.

4. Gerhard Lenski, *The Religious Factor: A Sociological Study of Religion's Impact on Politics, Economics and Family* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961), p. 9. Lenski notes that "norms of *tolerance* and *secularism* inevitably arise in urban centers." Ibid. (Italics in original.)

5. Mazumdar, p. 22.

6. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #80 (enrolled 1920), New Delhi, 1977. Due to the personal nature of a number of the interview questions, alumnae were promised anonymity. A number of alumnae used their particular sub-caste group names as surnames, so I have avoided these in the text. Thus, instead of talking about a "Saran Khatri" alumna, I have referred to a "Khatri" alumna. See Appendix C for a description of interviews.

7. I.T. McNair to Mrs. P.K. Wattal, Lahore, 27th January, 1940. Copy in Kinnaird College principals' file.

8. Parsis and Jains both established higher proportions than the Christian community, but their proportion of the Punjab population was very small. See *Census of India 1911, Vol. XIV. Punjab. Part II, Tables* (Lahore, 1912), p. 110. The 1911 census does not report the number of Indian Christian residents of Lahore. The aggregate Christian figures include Europeans and Anglo-Indians as well. However, the census does supply the number of Indian Christian women literate in English, by age, for the British territory of the entire province (see Appendix D, Tables D-I and D-II). According to the 1911 census, Indian Christian women aged 15-20 years were a quarter of all female English literates in this area. Therefore, I have estimated the number of Indian Christian women of this age group in Lahore at a quarter of the number of female Christian English literates (see Table 8). Indian Christian women

included Bengali and Hindustani migrants to the Punjab as well as Punjabi Christians. I should also note that only a minority of the early Kinnaird Christian students were from Lahore. For their geographical distribution, see Appendix B, Table B-III.

9. A list of all graduates of Punjab University from 1882-1905, including a sprinkling of women's names, appears in *The Panjab University Calendar, 1906-1907*, beginning on p. 325. For a description of girls' education in Lahore in 1912, see Pt. Hari Kishan Kaul, Superintendent of Census Operations, *Census of India, 1911, Vol. XIV. Punjab. Part I, Report* (Lahore, 1912), pp. 328-29. The Convent School (Sacred Heart) was certainly English-medium, and the Khatri Girls School probably was.

10. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #130 (enrolled 1924), New Delhi, 1977.

11. See note 8. The proportion of Indian Christian women literate in English aged over 20 years within the total group of Indian Christians literate in English was computed by taking the number of women shown in Table D-II (700) and dividing it by the total number of Indian Christians shown in Table D-I (1,700 male and 1,100 female = 2,800).

12. Staff, *KCR, 1930-31*, p. 5.

13. See Table 9. The total number of female English literates of all religions was approximately 5,500.

Hindu Women Total	1,100 or 20%
Sikh Women Total	400 or 7%
Muslim Women Total	1,600 or 29%
Christian Women Total	2,400 or 44%
Others	Less than 1%

14. The raw data for population information is from *Census of India, 1911, Vol. XIV. Punjab, Part II, Tables* (Lahore: 1912), p. 131. A few Brahmo Samaj families also sent their daughters to school in the nineteenth century.

15. J.K.H. Denny, *Toward the Sunrising: A History of Work for the Women of India done by Women from England 1852-1901* (London: Marshall Brothers and ZBMM, c. 1902), p. 208.

16. John C.B. Webster, *The Christian Community and Change in Nineteenth Century North India* (Delhi: The Macmillan Company of India, 1976), p. 66.

17. Interview with Hemlotta Ghose (enrolled 1913), Lahore, 1977.

18. There is an explanation of coding procedures and a list of occupations in Appendix B, Table B-VIII.

19. Occupational information was available for 95 Christian fathers, of whom 14 were deceased and 4 were retired. Of these 77 living, working fathers of early-period students, 14 were in government service, 13 were in education, 18 were religious workers, and 15 were professionals. See Appendix B for explanation of these categories. A conservative estimate would be that half of the religious workers were English literate, along with all government servants, those in the education category, and professionals. I have estimated that 51, or 66 percent, of the 77 living, working Christian fathers were English-literate.

20. Interview with Priobala Mangat Rai (enrolled 1928), Lahore, 1977, and additional information via personal communication from Mangat Rai, September, 1983.

21. I.T. McNair to J.F. Robb, Baptist Mission, Gange High School for Girls, Delhi, 12th January, 1940, p. 1. Copy in Kinnaird College files. Also, McNair to R.A. Baptist, Health Centre, Bahar Gate, Multan City, 6th May, 1940, p. 1. Copy in Kinnaird College files.

22. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #1038 (enrolled 1941), New Delhi, 1977. Rose is a pseudonym for this alumna.

23. See Appendix B, Table B-III. The following sentence draws on the same source.

24. See Table 6.

25. In addition to examples from Kinnaird families, there are several biographical examples of this in N.B. Sen, *Punjab's Eminent Hindus* (Lahore: New Book Society, 1944). See also P.H.M. Van den Dungen, "Status and Occupation in Nineteenth Century Punjab," in *Soundings in Modern South Asian History*, ed. D.A. Low (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), pp. 59-94.

26. Occupational information was available for 53 early-period Hindu fathers, of whom 2 were deceased and 5 were retired. Of these 46 living, working fathers, 4 were in government service, 6 were in education, and 21 were professionals. See Appendix B for an explanation of these categories. Ten fathers were in business, including government contractors and others working in the small Westernized sector of the Punjabi economy. I have estimated that 41, or 89 percent, of the living, working Hindu fathers were English literate.

27. Ian Johnston Kerr, "The Punjab Province and the Lahore District, 1849-1872: A Case Study of British Colonial Rule and Social Change in India" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1975), footnote 390.

28. Sen, pp. 41-61. Also, interview with Kinnaird College alumna #80, founding principal of Sir Ganga Ram Hindu Girls' High School.

29. Prakash Tandon, *Punjabi Century, 1848-1947* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 25-30.

30. Ibid., pp. 182, 192.

31. This paragraph was suggested by a number of sources. Interviews with Kinnaird College alumna #150 (enrolled 1926), London, 1976; and #714 (enrolled 1937), New Delhi, 1977. Tandon mentions his father "exposing [his wife] to English influence," (*Punjabi Century*, p. 36). The Muslim parallel is described by Mumtaz Shah Nawaz in *The Heart Divided* (Lahore: Mumtaz Publications, 1957), p. 5.

32. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #72 (enrolled 1919), New Delhi, 1977. Promilla is a pseudonym for this alumna.

33. Queen Mary College started as Victoria May High School at Lahore in 1908. The idea behind Queen Mary was that it would provide education for girls that did not focus on university examinations. It was to be managed by Indian men and supported by contributions from the rulers of Native States. See Minna G. Cowan, *The Education of the Women of India* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1912), pp. 143-45. Cowan quotes the Prospectus: "The proposed education is to be first and foremost womanly . . . The Indian ideals of self-sacrificing motherhood and simplicity of life will be held sacred, and the education given . . . seeks in every way to guard the ideal of the Indian wife in her home" (Cowan: 144).

34. Gail Minault, "Introduction: The Extended Family as Metaphor and the Expansion of the Women's Realm," in *The Extended Family: Women and Political Participation in India and Pakistan*, Gail Minault, ed. (Delhi: Chanakya Publications, 1981), p. 7.

35. Of the first ten Hindu students at Kinnaird, all of whom were enrolled between 1916 and 1917, six received the F.A. degree and four of these went on to receive the B.A. Of the other four, one was expelled from the F.A. examination for cheating; one left a month after she was enrolled; one stayed for two years, but apparently did not take the F.A. examination (even though her cousin/sister did); and one died within

a year of enrollment. See Appendix B, Table B-I.

36. Ved Mehta, *Daddyji* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 151.

37. E.M. Edwards, *KCR, 1920-21* (Lahore: 1921), p. 4. Information on women's clubs came from the following interviews: Kinnaird College alumna #130, see note 10; alumna #150, who appears under the pseudonym Saraswati (see note 41, below); and alumna #80 (see note 42, below).

38. Barbara Corrado Pope, "Angels in the Devil's Workshop: Leisured Charitable Women in Nineteenth Century England and France," in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, ed. Renata Bridenthal and Claudia Koontz (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977), pp. 296-324.

39. I.T. McNair, "In Answer to the Questionnaire," sect. A, part I, p. 3.

40. Ibid., pp. 3-4.

41. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #150 (enrolled 1925), London, 1976. Saraswati is a pseudonym for this alumna.

42. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #80 (enrolled 1920), New Delhi, 1977. Savitri is a pseudonym for this alumna.

43. Ibid.

44. Rama Mehta, *The Western Educated Hindu Woman* (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1970), pp. 49-91.

45. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #700 (enrolled 1937), London, 1976. The following anecdote about hymn singing is also from this interview. The overview of convent schools is taken from interviews with alumnae from 1913 to 1947, since there seemed to be a great deal of continuity, except for changes in the policy of attempted conversion.

46. Interviews with Kinnaird College alumna #1022 (enrolled 1941), New Delhi, 1977; #910 (enrolled 1940), New Delhi, 1977; and #618 (enrolled 1936), New Delhi, 1977.

47. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #961 (enrolled 1940), New Delhi, 1977.

48. Jones describes the "new world" of cultural interaction in Punjabi cities; see *Arya Dharm*, p. 4. Hindu students at Kinnaird from 1913 to 1947 came primarily from urban

homes. Fifty-four percent before 1928 were from Lahore, and this proportion rose to 60 percent in the '30s and '40s. As other women's colleges opened classes throughout the Punjab, the geographical area of recruitment for Hindu students shrank. See Appendix B, Table B-IV.

49. Interview with Priobala Mangat Rai, Kinnaird College Principal from 1950-69, Lahore, 1977. Also, Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz, *Father and Daughter* (Lahore: Nigarishat, 1971), pp. 33-38. Former Principals McNair and Mangat Rai both described the patronage of the Shah Nawaz family.

50. Ferozuddin's many degrees included the B.A., M.A., M.O.L. (Master of Oriental Languages), and Ph.D. Her sister, Kinnaird College alumna #1174 (enrolled 1927), never wore a burqah. Interview with Ferozuddin's classmate, Lilavati Najmuddin (1899-1983), enrolled 1916, Lahore, 1976.

51. Occupational information was available for 9 early-period Muslim fathers, of whom 2 were deceased and 1 was retired. Of these 6 living, working fathers in the early period, 4 were in government service and 2 were professionals; thus, 100 percent were English literate. In the established period, occupational information was available for 190 Muslim fathers, of whom 15 were deceased and 19 were retired. Of these 156 living, working fathers, 86 were in government service, 7 were in education, and 31 were professionals. Thus, 124, or 80 percent, were English literate. See Tables 10 and 11.

52. See Appendix B, Table B-V.

53. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #274 (enrolled 1930), Lahore, 1976. Sugra is a pseudonym for this alumna.

54. *Report on the Progress of Education in the Punjab, 1930-31* (Lahore: Superintendent of Government Printing, Punjab, 1932), p. 71.

55. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #167 (enrolled 1927), Lahore, 1976. Hamida is a pseudonym for this alumna. Sayyids were at least 11 percent of the early-period group and 14 percent of the later group. Since this count depended upon fathers or daughters who used "Sayyid" in their names, it is at best a conservative estimate.

56. Occupational information was available for 195 established-period Sikh fathers, of whom 10 were deceased and 11 were retired. Of these 174 living, working fathers, 70 were in government service, 1 was in education, and 29 were professionals. Thus, 100, or 58 percent, of the 174 living, working fathers were English literate. See Tables 10 and 11.

Sikhs had the highest non-urban proportion of all religious groups. See Appendix B, Table B-VI.

57. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #893 (enrolled 1939), London, 1976. Balwant Kaur is a pseudonym for this alumna.

58. Lelyveld, p. 37.

59. John A. Clausen, "Family Structure, Socialization and Personality," in *Review of Child Development Research*, ed. Lois W. Hoffman and M.L. Hoffman (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1966), p. 31.

60. Ved Mehta, *Face to Face* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978 reprint), chapter VII.

61. Shah Nawaz, pp. 1-38 and passim. Of course, Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi are another such father and daughter. See also Ikramullah, p. 30; Mazumdar, pp. 27-28, 51, 54-56; and Manisha Roy, pp. 20-22, 66-70.

62. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #758 (enrolled 1938), Lahore, 1977. For students' ages, see Appendix B, Table B-XII.

63. Role socialization is "training for specific tasks," while status socialization is a "broader pattern of training designed to prepare a recruit to occupy a generalized status in life with its associated lifestyles." Stanton Wheeler, "The Structure of Formally Organized Socialization Settings," in Brim and Wheeler, p. 70.

64. Rama Mehta, pp. 3-4, 33-39, 112.

V

THE LIFESTYLES OF COLLEGE-EDUCATED WOMEN IN THE PUNJAB

English education and non-kin group social interaction transformed the lives of the first generation of Kinnaird alumnae, in comparison to the experiences of their own mothers and grandmothers. The availability of girls' English-language schools, the introduction of women's voluntary organizations, and professional employment opportunities all created routes out of the home and into responsible public positions. Despite significant cultural differences among Christians, Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims, college-educated women in all four communities shared the potential to find respectable employment as teachers.[1] Poorer women had always worked, but "respectable" wealthier women of all groups had previously remained protected at home. Some communal groups accepted women working for wages in the early twentieth century; others remained hesitant to sanction public employment for women as late as 1947. However, by Independence, all communal groups in South Asia included some women who chose to work for wages after finishing their college educations.

Women's marriage choices, activities outside of the home (including employment and voluntary work), and various aspects of daily life (including purdah customs) provide the foci for this discussion of Kinnaird alumnae lifestyles. The range of behavioral options differed for women of each community, so a consideration of each communal group comprises part of the discussion. Christian women, for example, apparently enjoyed a real choice to live a single life, whereas Hindu alumnae came under enormous family pressure to marry regardless of their own preferences. Furthermore, certain issues varied in importance from one communal group to the other. Whereas nearly all Muslim alumnae faced purdah restrictions at some time in their lives, Christians and many Hindus rarely experienced purdah in such a direct fashion.

Before analyzing differences along communal lines, it should be emphasized that Kinnaird alumnae of all groups shared certain characteristics. An increasing personal participation in choosing life options has already been mentioned. College attendance also shaped patterns of adult social interaction, including a lessening of gender segregation. It colored all aspects of marriage arrangements, from the age of the bride, to the choice of a suitable husband, to individual

expectations for married life. Since college education meant English-language education, many alumnae tended to think and converse in English as adults. Education also altered other aspects of lifestyle, such as dress and accent. In short, Kinnaird alumnae thought of themselves, and in many ways acted, like a special social group.

The Kinnaird alumnae group tended to have the same kinds of family networks linked together by similar status values. While extended kin moved in and out of their lives, their family model was nuclear. Alumnae modified but passed on the natal family patterns described in the last chapter. Fathers' and husbands' achievements within the Western-style opportunity structure established by the British Raj defined family status. Also, family interconnections through marriage networks tended to be constructed along occupational lines. Karen Leonard challenged "the assumption that ascriptive status was the most fundamental element in [Hindu] social definition" in her study of Hyderabadi Kayasths. For Hindu alumnae families as for the Kayasths, "social boundaries" and kinship networks depended upon "economic resources and occupational strategies far more than upon any elaboration of purity and pollution concepts."[2] The alumnae and their families of all communal groups generally collaborated economically with the Raj, but even for those who joined the Indian National Congress, the commitment to English higher education made some form of interaction with the British almost inevitable.

Kinnaird College imbued its students with a common set of attitudes, as noted previously. Clifford Geertz's distinction between worldview and ethos helps to clarify student attitudes. Worldview may be defined as "a collection of notions a people has of how reality is at base put together," while ethos is "a general style of life, the way [people] do things."[3] Evidence from Kinnaird alumnae suggests that college education affected their worldviews in minimal ways. Each student, for example, carried her religious beliefs from her natal culture. Although institutional education altered the kind of religious and social instruction girls received from their mothers, these changes usually occurred before college age. Most women reported that the Kinnaird experience had a limited impact on their religious convictions. Even Christian alumnae felt that their religious views were formed at home or in school, well before college age. However, a common ethos did develop among alumnae, cutting across individual sectarian backgrounds. The very choice of Kinnaird College for a daughter's education often indicated that a family previously had taken steps toward a secularized lifestyle. College attendance generally reinforced secularization of family life.

English-language colleges that fostered a shared ethos for all students helped to bridge the compartmentalized hierarchy of Punjabi society, wherein all intimate relationships

depended upon one's kin. A shared ethos did not lead to the creation of an extracommunal class, however, despite a few interfaith marriages. The economic class lines drawn under imperial rule and tied together by the English language were not ultimately strong enough to compete with communal identity in the Punjab.[4]

Even during the first decades of the twentieth century, when a cosmopolitan social life flourished in Lahore, the Westernized, relatively secularized lifestyles of college graduates were circumscribed by the system of arranged marriages. Family dictates in the matter of marriage partners kept both men and women firmly within family control.[5] Thus, most college-educated women married within their natal communities, and were forced to find some compromise between "orthodox" notions of a woman's place in society and Western ideas of individual social choices.

Christian Women

Christian women enjoyed both professional employment opportunities and the least gender-restricted lives within any Punjabi community during the first decades of the twentieth century. Early Christian alumnae developed new types of choices for educated women, including the choice to remain single. Expanded life options for Christians resulted from employment opportunities, usually as teachers. While teachers received neither high pay nor high status, and while the pressure to marry remained great, the option to remain single and to have an independent income was a significant development for Punjabi women.[6] While teaching or supervising schools, single women often lived away from their families at the institutions where they worked, although during the holidays and after retirement, most moved in with family members. Widowed mothers tended to live with their daughters even if sons were living, possible because of prejudices against single women living alone. Single women retained strong ties to their families throughout their lives, helping to finance the education of their younger siblings and even supporting their parents in old age.[7]

Kinnaird alumnae required the support of at least one senior male relative to resist successfully social pressure to marry. One early Christian, the youngest of eight children, described how her brothers "had made up their minds to get all their sisters married and get them off their hands. My turn also came. Then I clung to my uncle's knees and he said, 'Don't.' If my uncle said 'don't,' then my brothers could not do anything."[8] Instead of marrying, she taught for two years after graduating from Kinnaird in 1925, to finance study for a master's degree. Her uncle, who had no children of his own, eventually enabled her to attend Cambridge. After passing the

mathematics examination, she returned home to a large family reception. "My sisters were at the station. You'd have thought it was a marriage. They took me home. There were lights lit in the garden and all the rest of it." Her educational attainments appear to have become a substitute for marriage.

A substantial proportion, one out of three, of early-period Christians chose to remain single (see Table 13). This was not merely accounted for by the available pool of marriage partners. English-educated Christian women had fewer opportunities to marry English-educated men in 1931 than they had in 1911.[9] Because the proportion of single women in the Kinnaird sample actually declined after 1928, earlier trends were not simply the result of demographic pressure. There is every reason to believe that early Christians remained single by choice and not for lack of eligible partners.

College education directly influenced the marriage patterns of those Christians who did marry. Christian brides were older than their peers since they generally waited until they finished their professional training before marrying. It was common for a Christian woman to finish teachers' training in her early twenties, although specialized training in medicine might take longer. One Christian who enrolled in 1928 reported that her mother, a trained physician with an established practice, stopped working when she married at 33 years of age. Lily Hulasi Ram, who left Kinnaird after her F.A. to become one of the first graduates of the Lady Hardinge Medical College in Delhi, was over 37 when she married a widower with grandchildren. She continued her medical practice after marriage, apparently supporting his family as well as her own. Occasionally, teachers would also marry in their thirties or forties. One Christian joined the B.A. class in 1928 to improve her qualifications after many years of teaching. In 1930, she received her degree at the age of 40, and returned to present-day Uttar Pradesh, where she married sometime before 1939. Although such alumnae helped to raise the average age of marriage for early Christians, most married in their mid-twenties, three to six years after the average age for educated brides from other communal groups. Later Christian alumnae tended to marry at a slightly younger age.[10]

Christians were not only older at marriage, but they were also much more likely to have selected their own husbands than were women from other groups. Only one Christian reported that her father "forced" her to marry a man against her will because her own choice, a divorced Christian, was unacceptable to him. The marriage patterns of early Christians reflected their social ties with both foreign missionaries and Punjabis of other communities; at least a fifth of them married Europeans or non-Christian Punjabis. One of the first such interfaith marriages caused a public "sensation" in Lahore.[11]

Table 13

KINNAIRD COLLEGE CHRISTIAN ALUMNAE:
SINGLE WOMEN AND SALARIED EMPLOYMENT

	Early Period 1913-28		Established Period 1929-47	
	N	%	N	%
Single women	28	35.0	22	19.0
Married	53	65.0	96	81.0
Unknown	9		21	
Total Christians traced	90	100.0	139	100.0
Christian women who married Europeans or non-Christians	11		13	
Proportion of all Christian marriages		21.0		14.0
Salaried employment	66	87.0[a]	93	83.8[a]
Taught until marriage	4	5.0	5	4.5
Never worked for pay	6	8.0	13	11.7
Unknown	14		28	
Total Christians traced	90	100.0	139	100.0
Married women who worked for pay	29		58	
Proportion of all married women		55.0[a]		60.0[a]

[a]Women who worked for a salary were more likely to be traced than women who did not, suggesting that these proportions are high.

SOURCE: This table is based solely on interviews. See Appendix C.

Joyce, who had enrolled at Kinnaird in 1917, met the son of a prominent Arya Samaj family through her school friend Savitri. Joyce's family objected to the proposed marriage and tried to prevent it by sending Joyce to live with her aunt in Calcutta. Joyce attended a YWCA training course there for a year, but her suitor persisted and they were married, in a civil ceremony, in 1923. However, four-fifths of early Christians and an even greater proportion of the later ones married within the Christian community. They occasionally married through arrangements made by their families, but usually chose their own husbands.

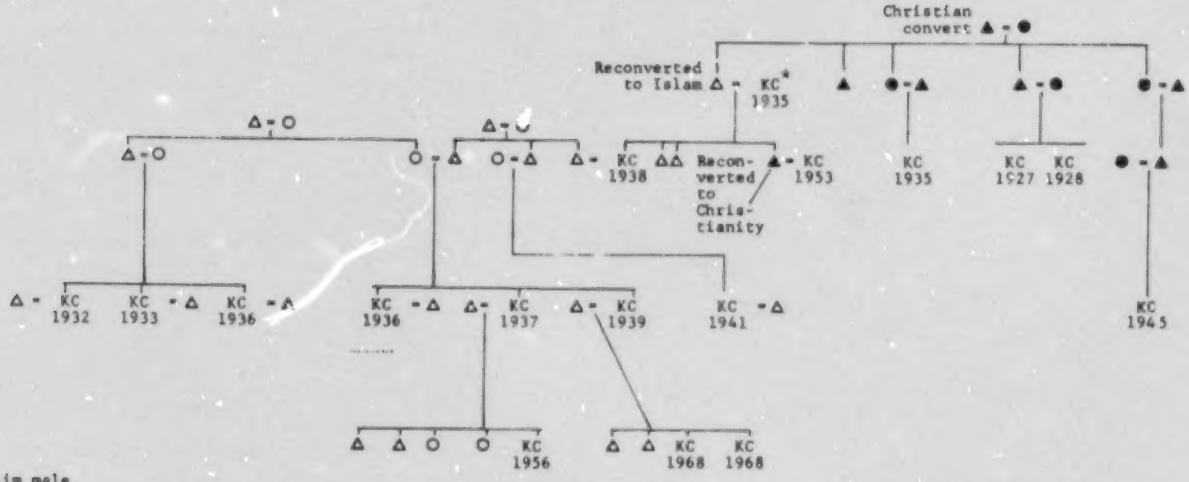
Interfaith marriages were only one part of a network of relationships which could tie Christians and non-Christians together in the province. While Christian conversion meant social ostracism for some individuals, especially in the middle of the nineteenth century, several Kinnaird alumnae reported continuing relationships with non-Christian family members in the twentieth. Mona, a Christian from the established period, described two separate receptions after her wedding in 1939, which illustrate intercommunal social ties within one Punjabi family.[12] She called the ceremony "an English wedding with Indian touches," and wore a white saree for the main reception, to which both men and women were invited. Afterwards, Muslim relatives on her mother's side gave her a purdah reception, at which she wore a red saree, red being the wedding color of the Punjab. Less colorful but more important were the individual decisions to convert from Christianity back to the original family faith, to the faith of a marriage partner, or to another faith. The few Christians who married Muslims, for example, converted to Islam. One alumna reported male conversions back and forth from Islam to Christianity over three generations in her family (see chart 2).[13] Overall, the social barriers between Punjabi communities seem to have been more permeable for English-educated Christians than for most others.

Christian women who married did not generally give up their independent incomes, although the proportion of working alumnae changed over time. Almost ninety percent of the early-period alumnae had their own incomes, but this proportion declined after the 1920s. While early-period alumnae frequently taught in government girls' schools, the provincial government adopted a hiring policy of preference for non-Christians, and in the 1930s and '40s, alumnae found jobs in lower-paying Christian schools or accepted some other type of employment.[14] Despite such changes and narrowed opportunities, more than half of all married Christians worked for wages, most of them throughout their lives.

A few Kinnaird alumnae who married discontinued their employment at the time of their marriages, while others found ways to work despite initial family disapproval. One of the

CHART 2

INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONG MUSLIM AND CHRISTIAN FAMILIES
WHOSE DAUGHTERS ATTENDED KINNAIRD COLLEGE



KEY

△ Muslim male
○ Muslim female
▲ Christian male
● Christian female

KC* 1935 joined Kinnaird while her daughters were still in school.

Note: Children are underrepresented and not in birth order.

early students related that her father-in-law opposed her working after marriage, but she convinced her husband to take her side in this family dispute. Her own daughter enjoyed family cooperation rather than disapproval in making her own decision to continue teaching after marriage. Another alumna faced stronger opposition. She reported, "My father never allowed me to work because there were too many cheap Anglo-Indian Christians around. Girls who worked supposedly didn't have good characters."[15] She did not work for many years after her marriage due to her husband's opposition, but eventually she left her husband and supported herself and her children in a separate residence. She moved to England "for the children's education." Employment options thus enabled this alumna to rescue herself from an unhappy marriage, a pattern evident in several biographical examples.

Kinnaird College, then, offered Christian women the education to qualify for higher-level teaching and supervisory positions through which they could achieve economic independence. These early Christian graduates were among the first Punjabi women to demonstrate that respectable women could remain single and hold public positions. Their influence was much greater than their small numbers would suggest. For example, one prominent Muslim educator, the first female vice-chancellor of a coeducational university in Pakistan, credited an early Christian alumna with the encouragement that enabled her to aim for a higher goal than teaching at a girls' school. She felt that Christian teachers provided liberating role models for Hindu, Sikh and Muslim students, many of whom had grown up in very restrictive families. While most Kinnaird Christian alumnae confined their own employment to gender-segregated environments, their examples as able, competent professionals inspired many of their students, some of whom experimented with new types of employment. The range of occupational choices currently available for women in India and Pakistan owes a great deal to the activities of such women.

Muslim Women

As previously discussed, Muslim students usually grew up following purdah restrictions, and one might expect to find Muslims leading the most sheltered lives of all alumnae. The handful of Muslim students at Kinnaird came from exceptionally liberal families, however, and had the highest proportion of single women among non-Christian alumnae as well as the highest proportion of non-Christians who had worked for wages at least one year of their lives (see Table 14). Single Muslim alumnae were well known in Lahore. Khadijah Begum Ferozuddin, for example, gave lectures to purdah audiences, wrote articles, and worked for the provincial government. Described by one Kinnaird contemporary as "very keen for the freedom of women,"[16] Ferozuddin was thought to have memorized the *Qur'an*

Table 14

KINNAIRD COLLEGE MUSLIM ALUMNAE:
SINGLE WOMEN AND SALARIED EMPLOYMENT

	Early Period 1913-28		Established Period 1929-47	
	N	%	N	%
Single women	2	25.0	12	14.8
Married	6	75.0	69	85.2
Unknown	1		12	
Total Muslims traced	9	100.0	93	100.0
-- There were no interfaith marriages reported for either period. --				
Salaried employment	4	57.1[a]	43	61.4[a]
Taught until marriage	0	0	4	5.7
Never worked for pay	3	42.9	23	32.8
Unknown	2		23	
Total Muslims traced	9	100.0	93	99.9
Married women who worked for pay	1*		19*	
Proportion of all married women		17.0[a]		28.0[a]

*The one woman in the early period, and one of the nineteen in the established period, were married when they attended Kinnaird.

[a]Women who worked for a salary were more likely to be traced than those who did not, suggesting that these proportions are high.

SOURCE: This table is based solely on interviews. See Appendix C.

and quoted it in her speeches and writings in support of women's individual rights. Ferozuddin was the most visible of these single women, but the others were quietly working toward similar ends within Muslim social circles.

Relatively few Muslim women attended college in the Punjab before 1947.[17] Even fewer took salaried employment. In 1939, the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam (Society for the Defense of Islam) opened Islamia College for Women at Lahore to provide a purdah environment and religious education which would convince Muslim families to send their daughters to college. The Anjuman hired a Christian Kinnaird alumna to be principal because it was unable to find a qualified Muslim woman willing to fill the position. Thus, even as late as 1940, more gender-segregated employment opportunities existed for Muslims than trained women to fill them.

The exercise of personal choice shown by the handful of single Muslims like Ferozuddin was quite exceptional even among Kinnaird alumnae; most Muslims were married shortly after they finished either the F.A. or the B.A., almost always to men of their parents' choosing. Alumnae were usually in their early twenties when they married, but their sheltered lives left them dependent upon their parents' decisions. As one woman put it, "my personality was not such that I would question my parents' choice of a husband."[18] Muslims commonly experienced a slow increase in behavioral options after marriage, despite their lack of personal control over whom they would marry. Some college-educated men urged their wives to drop purdah restrictions entirely after marriage. Parents frequently arranged marriages to men in government service, and the geographical mobility associated with their husbands' employment could help educated women adopt new behavior while away from the family home. Muslim women were not the only ones to change their behavior when living away from their family elders, but their liberation from restrictive gender-role conventions was perhaps the most dramatic of all communal groups.

Individual Muslim women moved from the shelter of purdah to public activities in stages. The life of Zohra, who enrolled at Kinnaird in 1936, illustrates the dramatic changes possible within one lifetime when daughters were sent out of their homes to be educated.[19] The youngest daughter of a Sayyid lawyer, Zohra grew up in purdah and continued to observe those customs while a student. Even though her father had taken her to the cinema without a burqah, and though they had also attended gender-mixed Christian gatherings, he would not allow her to attend M.A. classes at Government College. Instead, she studied at Lahore College for Women, and her marriage was arranged a year after she finished her degree. Immediately thereafter, her civil-servant husband was transferred to a posting near Calcutta. The social situation there

was "entirely different" from Lahore. She did not observe purdah; she went to mixed parties with Hindus and Parsis; she learned ballroom dancing and "really enjoyed" herself. In 1947, she returned to Lahore with her husband and three daughters, but did not go back to purdah restrictions. Zohra's father was then Secretary of Islamia College for Women, and he urged his daughter to teach. She started to teach in 1951, and has been the head of a department at Islamia College for some years. She was the first woman in her family to work for a salary, although she used to feel "shy" about admitting it. Currently, Zohra feels that economic dependence is the root of most problems for women in Pakistan, and is proud to have her own money.

When Pakistan became an independent nation in 1947, a number of Muslim women gave up the burqah and purdah restrictions. Once interrupted, patterns of female seclusion gave way to increased public participation for these women. Even Punjabi Muslims who had not been observing purdah took the opportunity in 1947 to widen their sphere of activities outside of their homes. "There was so much that needed to be done," as one woman put it.[20] Hamida related that, before Independence, she had only covertly helped the Muslim League (the communal political party that led the struggle for an independent Muslim homeland) because her husband was loyal to the British. After 1947, she openly joined the league and began a long career of voluntary social and political work. She helped establish the All Pakistan Women's Association "from nothing" in 1947, and remained a leader of the organization for decades. In 1951, Hamida was elected to the Punjab Legislature from a reserved women's seat, i.e., a seat for which there were only female candidates and for which only women could vote. She became Deputy Minister for Education in 1958, before Ayub Khan dissolved the civilian government. Despite her long career of public service, Hamida felt that neither men nor women value volunteer work, and that only salaried employment would earn women respect as contributors to national development.

Both Hamida and Zohra found satisfying public roles in post-independent Pakistan, largely because their husbands had no objections to their dropping purdah customs and participating in public life. Educated husbands were not universally in favor of increased freedom for their wives, although personality factors could override the cultural ideals of male dominance and female dependence. The life of Khurshid Begum, who joined Kinnaird in 1928, illustrates that neither a restrictive husband nor a sheltered childhood could subjugate a strong-minded individual.[21] Since her father died when she was young, Khurshid and her seven brothers grew up in their mother's father's household. Her grandfather and mother taught her the *Qur'an*, and she learned English by reading her brothers' school slates before washing them every day. When she was 13 years old, her grandfather arranged her marriage to a widower

25 years her senior. Khurshid's family had sheltered her in strict purdah, but her husband allowed British missionary women to visit her. These missionaries, "amazed" by how much English she had learned on her own, convinced her husband to allow Khurshid to take the university matriculation examination. She passed the examination the same year as her eldest son, but her husband opposed her continued education on financial grounds.

Despite her husband's initial opposition, Khurshid eventually joined Kinnaird College, where she taught Urdu and Persian in exchange for free tuition in English. She had five children and was 34 years old when she enrolled. She brought her youngest daughter with her to classes, since there was no servant or elder female relative at home to watch the child. Her husband refused to allow her to study further when she completed her B.A. After passing the university proficiency examination in Persian, she left the Kinnaird staff to accept a higher-paying position at Lahore College for Women.

Khurshid's employment did not alter her observance of purdah customs, and she raised her three daughters in purdah. Having faced her own husband's opposition to her higher education, she educated her daughters before their marriages, to the extent they wished to study. The youngest completed an M.A. in Arabic and started to teach at Islamia College for Women in 1944. Three years later, as part of the arrangement process for this daughter's wedding, Khurshid invited the future husband's mother and all of the husband's mother's friends to a purdah gathering. She publicly told her daughter's future mother-in-law that she would agree to the marriage only if her daughter would never be forced to give up her employment. Both the future husband and his mother agreed to this and the wedding took place in 1947, shortly before Khurshid died. Later, the mother-in-law tried to persuade her daughter-in-law to stop working, arguing that people would think that her son was unable to support his family. Khurshid's daughter refused, citing the promise to her mother, but she was able to resist this pressure largely because her husband still had no objection to her teaching. His liberality also allowed her to move about freely, to raise their only daughter outside of purdah restrictions, and to send their daughter to Kinnaird College.

While alumnae like Khurshid did not change Muslim women's social roles by themselves, they were able to develop significant flexibility in their role behavior. Some of these gains could be passed directly on to their daughters, while other types of personal freedom required the cooperation of their daughters' husbands. So few Muslim women attended Kinnaird before 1947 that any conclusions from their activities must be very tentative, but the lives of these select few do help to explain how impersonal social processes such as the move from

the domestic sphere dictated by purdah to salaried employment in the public sphere are worked out on the personal level. Higher education clearly made a direct contribution to these women's increased role flexibility.

Hindu Women

As the geographical center of a cosmopolitan Hindu class, Lahore offered Kinnaird alumnae a relatively open environment in which to experiment with new social roles. The first generation of Hindu alumnae was in a unique social position, for college-educated women's norms had not yet been established. Hindus who took individualistic paths as adults did so despite economic dependence upon fathers or husbands; few supported themselves by pursuing careers. Adventuresome and energetic alumnae traveled abroad, worked voluntarily for social welfare reforms, or engaged in political organizing. A few participated in choosing their own husbands, and several even went so far as to marry men of other communities -- very radical behavior indeed. Early Kinnaird alumnae felt an excitement about higher education and a sense of pioneering in the exceptional lives they led as a tiny proportion of Lahore's population. Perhaps the most convincing explanation of their behavioral freedom stems from their relationships with their fathers. They were the children of fathers (and sometimes mothers) who consciously desired to increase the freedom of choice for their daughters. Women's higher education was a challenge and the most adventuresome of the alumnae took advantage of this to gain the most social freedom. Yet they remained idiosyncratic individuals, rather than trendsetters. As women's college education became more routine among Kashmiri Brahmins and Punjabi Khatris, alumnae from the 1930s and '40s led far more conventional lives.

Families sending their daughters to college in the early twentieth century were usually headed by a father or grand father active in one of the religious and social reform societies that reached Lahore in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The Lahore Brahmo Samaj rejected most Hindu customs and patronized English-language education for women by funding a girls' Anglo-Vernacular School in the 1880s.[22] While the Brahmo Samaj never attained a large following in the Punjab, the Arya Samaj touched the lives of most educated Hindus. This reform society made women's education respectable for the first Hindus who sent their daughters to school, and provided employment opportunities for the first Hindu Kinnaird alumnae who wanted to work. The Arya Samaj founded two types of girls' schools in the province, one promoting Hindi-medium, elementary education, and the other offering English-medium higher education.[23] By and large, Kinnaird alumnae directed the spread of this second type of girls' school.

Both the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj opposed child marriages, but even reform-minded Punjabi Hindus tended to have their daughters marry while they were still teenagers in the early twentieth century. For example, Vidyavati was a child widow from an Arya Samaj family in Lahore.[24] She attended a convent school before her ill-fated marriage at 15 years of age. When she was quickly widowed, her father sent her to Kinnaird College. As a high-status widow, she would ordinarily have been confined to a life of domestic drudgery without the possibility of either independent employment or remarriage. But Vidyavati's father, a man committed to social reform and improvement of women's social positions, wanted a better life for his daughter, and considered arranging a second marriage for her. This radical idea was rejected by Vidyavati herself, who preferred to continue her education rather than risk another bereavement. The Arya Samaj branch in Lahore supported an English-language high school for boys, and its principal, Hans Raj, asked Vidyavati's father for money and for his daughter's help in starting a girls' high school. She agreed to be the founding principal of the Hans Raj Mahila Mahavidyala, opened at Lahore in 1928. Her nieces, also Kinnaird alumnae, were among the first teachers at the school. Vidyavati remained an "honorary" (unsalaried) principal of the Mahavidyala and was supported financially by her father until 1947, when she moved to New Delhi. She eventually accepted paid employment from the Government of India, and dedicated the rest of her life to women's welfare work. Thus, Vidyavati's father's financial support and her college education allowed her life choices far beyond those generally open to child widows in early twentieth-century Punjab.

Khatri alumnae by and large did not have the choice of a single life, even if they were willing to support themselves through teaching. Sita's adult life illustrates the dissatisfaction that established-period alumnae often experienced while trying to create a single life after college. She had enrolled at Kinnaird in 1938, after attending the Arya Samaj's oldest girls' school, the Kanya Mahavidyala in Jullunder.[25] Sita learned a "freedom of spirit" at the Jullunder school and developed a desire to teach at Kinnaird. Despite family pressure for marriage and against salaried employment, after graduation Sita eventually received family permission to teach at the Jullunder school. Finding the Mahavidyala "changed and ordinary," and quickly leaving her position, Sita spent the next ten years teaching at various schools and completing both an M.A. and a diploma in journalism in New Delhi. She moved to London in the early 1950s and lived on her own, working on a newspaper for a short time and temporarily joining the University of London. Sita made one more attempt to find a place for herself in India. She completed a law degree in London, returned to India, and tried to become a "poor man's lawyer." Her efforts lasted less than a year, partially because of

continued family pressure to marry. She returned to London, established her own legal practice, and married a Scottish lawyer.

Single Hindus faced continual pressure from their families to marry, both for their own social security and for the family reputation. A career and a single life were supposedly the fate of women who could not find a husband for one reason or another. As one father wrote to Principal McNair, expressing his doubts about his daughter's future after college, "You know as on account of the trouble in her face she is not attractive looking. I doubt whether she can get a decent husband. If she gets some educational qualifications she might make her living."[26] Faced with such stereotypes and family insistence, the overwhelming majority of Hindu women did marry. Two single women traced from the established period reported that the marriage arrangements made by their families had fallen through on the man's side. One women tried to make her own arrangements, which were also unsuccessful. She finally decided that there was no reason to marry "just for the sake of marriage," and she "forced" her mother to stop postponing marriages for her younger sisters.[27] Both of these single Hindus found satisfactory employment, one in New Delhi and the other in the United States, and remained single by choice. However, these women acknowledged themselves to be quite different from most alumnae in their own willingness to resist strong family pressure to marry.

In *Punjabi Century*, Prakash Tandon gives a detailed description of how late nineteenth-century Khatri families began to form new marriage networks based on Western education and achieved male status within the opportunity structure established by the British Raj. The evolution of normative expectations for Hindu children, perhaps as important as the transmission of existing family norms, seems to have started with the interaction between English-educated men with reformist ideas, like Tandon's father, and largely uneducated women, like his mother. Ved Mehta's portraits of his parents in *Daddyji* and *Mamaji* show the humor and disorientation of such family interaction.[28] As English education spread through generations of these families, educated women reintegrated the torn fabric of family culture. Parents, in exercising the right to arrange their children's marriages, considered *jati*, *got*, and financial status, as well as occupation.[29] Old and new criteria were combined.

Hindu alumnae reported some element of choice in their marriage arrangements, commonly the option to refuse a match selected by their parents. However, most alumnae simply accepted their parents' first choice. A few alumnae reported arranged hypergamous intercaste marriages, wherein the brides married grooms of ritually higher status. For example, an Ahluwalia alumna described how her parents arranged marriages

for their four daughters outside of their own caste. She claimed that while caste was unimportant to her parents, all of the marriages were to men of higher castes, in her case to a Kapur Khatri. About ten percent of the Hindus in each period married Europeans or non-Hindus; these were clearly all marriages through individual choice. Kinnaird alumnae marriages also included a sprinkling of Brahmins choosing Punjabi Khatri men, and marriages between Rajputs and Khatris. Not all individual choice marriages mated unorthodox pairs; an alumna would occasionally choose a groom whom her parents might have chosen for her. However, individual choice marriages of whatever kind were more common among early alumnae than those from the 1930s or '40s. Most later alumnae were "led into" their marriages and their domestic roles by their parents.

Few Hindu Kinnaird alumnae accepted salaried employment after their marriages. Teaching for a year or two before marriage was the most common Hindu work experience. More than a third of early-period alumnae and nearly half of the alumnae from the established period worked for a salary at least once in their lives (see Table 15). Employment opportunities for Hindus included teaching in Arya Samaj schools as well as teaching in provincial government schools, where Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs were in demand to balance the number of Christian women already employed. Despite the increasing number of girls' schools and the concurrent growth of employment opportunities for Hindus in the 1930s and '40s, low wages and questions of family prestige frequently prevented these alumnae from working even if they would have chosen to do so under other circumstances. College-educated Hindus, by and large, came from well-to-do families that did not need an extra income, and teaching was restricted to those unmarried women biding their time until a suitable match could be arranged for them. The increased proportion of Hindus who worked for wages in the established period is largely explained by the trend to marry slightly later and the increased number of college graduates who had a year or two to spend between graduation and marriage.

While Kashmiri Brahmins and Punjabi Khatris considered salaried employment for married women socially unacceptable in the early years of the twentieth century, voluntary social service work among women and children provided a respectable arena in which college-educated women could work. Individuals who grew up in politically active families became the earliest examples of alumnae dedicated to social service. Swaraswati, a relative of the Nehru family, became involved with politics when she enrolled at Kinnaird in 1924.[30] Inspired by her mother's activities, she dedicated her life to the nationalist cause and to women's rights. She graduated, taught for a couple of years, and then married a man of her own choice, a Hindu outside of the Kashmiri Brahmin community. Thereafter,

Table 15

KINNAIRD COLLEGE HINDU ALUMNAE:
SINGLE WOMEN AND SALARIED EMPLOYMENT

	Early Period 1913-28		Established Period 1929-47	
	N	%	N	%
Single women	3	7.0	10	5.2
Married	40	93.0	181	94.8
Unknown	3		16	
Total Hindus traced	46	100.0	207	100.0
Hindu women who married Europeans or non-Hindus	4		22	
Proportion of all Hindu marriages		10.0		12.0
Salaried employment	15	36.6[a]	51	45.5[a]
Taught until marriage	1	2.4	2	1.8
Never worked for pay	25	61.0	44	39.3
Planned to teach[b]	0	0	15[b]	13.4[b]
Unknown	5		95	
Total Hindus traced	46	100.0	207	100.0
Married women who worked for pay	8*		30	
Proportion of all married women		20.0[a]		17.0[a]

*Doesn't include a child widow who worked for wages after 1947.

[a]Women who worked for a salary were more likely to be traced than women who did not, suggesting that these proportions are high.

[b]These women asked for letters of reference from the college.

SOURCE: This table is based solely on interviews. See Appendix C.

she worked full-time as a political organizer until 1947, when she joined many social work projects in independent India. Savitri, another woman from a political family, left Kinnaird in 1920 when Gandhi called for non-cooperation with British institutions.[31] After doing social work "in the villages" for two years, she returned to college and finished her degree. She studied at Oxford, returning to Lahore in 1928, eager to continue working toward the improvement of women's social status. Her first opportunity came the following year, when she was founding principal of the English-medium Sir Ganga Ram Hindu Girls' High School. She remained principal until she married another Khatri, a man of her own choice, in 1934. Her husband was a politician working for the Indian National Congress, and after her marriage Savitri divided her time between political and social work. She credited her own and her husband's families with helping her with "money and ideas" for her social service projects. Her main affiliation has been with the All India Women's Conference, which she joined in 1928; she served as president, and continued her participation unto the 1970s.

Hindu alumnae from both periods usually married well-to-do elite men, and the financial incentives that led Christian women to work were absent. Although Kinnaird College established an environment which rewarded individual achievement and offered both pre-professional and English-language skills to give alumnae the option of entering public roles, few established-period Hindus followed the lead of the first generation. Alumnae did expand their primary domestic roles to include some honorary social work, which ranged from a full-time commitment to spending an occasional afternoon. Women's voluntary organizations and social work activities brought alumnae into the public sphere on at least a limited basis, and paved the way for alumnae daughters to choose public positions if they so desired. Indeed, the proportion of working daughters was very high among all Hindu alumnae.

As women's higher education became common among well-to-do Khatris in the 1930s and '40s, parents increasingly sent their daughters to college to maximize their chances of contracting certain types of marriages. The prestige of an English-language education from Kinnaird, the "best" women's college in the Punjab, made it an attractive investment for those who wanted their daughters to marry professional men rather than to choose professional careers themselves. During this period, daughters were often sent to college to improve their English conversational skills, for these helped young women marry high-level civil servants, army officers, and professionals. Civil and military officers often wanted to marry English-educated wives because their employment meant "a lot of give and take with the British" before 1947.[32] The wives of these men were expected to engage in voluntary local social service work, continuing the charity work done by the

wives of British officers in an earlier period. One alumna described her participation in the Army Wives' Association, which supported several kinds of charity work. Others described raising money for hospitals and organizing boutiques to sell items for charity.[33] Kinnaird's Principal McNair tried to prepare married alumnae to work for the "public good." In 1939, for example, she invited the Deputy Directress of Public Instruction to explain to the graduating class "how official wives stationed in provincial towns could use their influence to help good causes and how women in the teaching profession could cooperate with them."[34]

A few Hindu alumnae worked for wages after marriage, even without financial need. One Arora alumna had no children, so she tutored students and gave cooking demonstrations to keep busy. An Ahluwalia alumna married the principal of a boys' high school in New Delhi, and chose to teach from time to time in her husband's school. However, financial need could motivate women who wanted to establish economic independence for a personal reason. A Khatri alumna started working after a marriage of her own choice broke down due to interference from her husband's parents. This alumna eventually divorced her first husband, and married again when she was 31 years old. She now runs her own school in New Delhi. Thus, childless women, women whose husbands encouraged them to work, and women who were separated or divorced were much more likely to have been steadily employed after marriage than were alumnae who had children and lived with their first husbands.[35]

Because most came from well-to-do families, widowed Hindus were unlikely to seek employment after their husbands' deaths. For example, Shanti became a widow within a few years of her marriage, when she was only 28 years old.[36] She came from a wealthy Brahmin family, and returned to her father's house with her two children. At first devastated by her husband's death, she spent the next ten years in a religious quest, eventually finding personal peace in the acceptance of a contemporary guru. By her own description, she lived a "life of ease" with her extended family, consisting of her parents, two married brothers and their families, an unmarried brother, and her own children. Neither employment nor social work appealed to her, so she stayed at home. In general, other Hindu widows lived with their married children and continued to stay at home or to be engaged in public activities, whichever lifestyle they had established before their husbands' deaths.

Rama Mehta studied a sample of Western-educated Hindu women who attended college roughly in the 1930s and early '40s. When analyzing how they used their education, Mehta found that they fell into three groups of roughly equal size. She reported that 18 out of 50 were dissatisfied with traditional family obligations after marriage, but nevertheless

subordinated themselves to their husbands' views that women should stay at home. Education for this group had mainly contributed to their enjoyment of life, and awakened their interest in the world. Despite their "indifference to the current problems of their society," this group dabbled in voluntary social and cultural organizations. Mehta described a second group, 15 out of 50 women, who reported that due to their education "their children were better brought up" but that they yearned for "something beyond domesticity." This group either devoted a great deal of time and dedication to volunteer work or had "hobbies with a commercial component." Making dolls or puppets; opening boutiques to sell sarees or handicrafts; hiring "craftsmen to execute their designs in textile printing, ceramics and woodcarving"; all of these hobbies earned money while removing these individuals' discontent with their position. Mehta's third group, 17 out of 50 women, required "intellectual fulfillment to be happy in marriage." This group included women with full-time, paid employment as well as those with "interesting" paid, part-time jobs as medical doctors or teachers.[37] All of the women Mehta interviewed had some level of interest in public life and those who spent the most time at home claimed to be kept there by their husbands' wishes. By word or by deed, all saw women as having legitimate roles outside of the home.

While half of the Kinnaird alumnae from the established period chose and were allowed to work for wages at least once in their lives, slightly more than in Mehta's sample, most did not work after marriage. Clearly, the belief that women have a legitimate role outside of the home was lived out in the lifestyles of only a minority. Hindu alumnae nevertheless described their lives as very full, partially through satisfying reciprocal family obligations, partially through extra-familial activities organized around social clubs. Often a little social work went along with club activities, but alumnae reported an emphasis on the "social" rather than the "work." The daily lives of Hindu housewives then, far from being confined by purdah norms, included a variety of social activities outside of their homes. Yet their lives were still home-centered, especially for the majority with children. Their educations helped them tutor their sons and daughters while they were in school, and then set parameters for the type of marriages alumnae would arrange after the children were grown. Even if a child chose his or her own partner, alumnae mothers usually took enormous pains over the myriad physical details surrounding the marriage.

Many Kinnaird alumnae housewives kept at least one or two friends from college and tended to idealize the influence of their college experiences, while those who worked outside their homes after marriage were both much more critical of Kinnaird as an institution and less likely to have kept in contact with more than one close friend from their college days.

Housewives remembered themselves as "the top girl in badminton" or "second only to the senior girl in studies" or "one of Miss McNair's favorites."[38] They spoke of their college days with nostalgia, as a time they were both relatively carefree and yet had an important individual place in the college community. Many housewives reported a "special feeling" for Kinnaird alumnae they met if they moved from one place to another in the course of their husbands' careers. These feelings were not expressed through the formal Kinnaird alumnae organizations that exist in both India and Pakistan, but in smaller friendship groups, especially those reinforced by marriage connections.

While this discussion has shown the importance of college education in offering Hindu women an entree into public life, the majority of alumnae, who lived within their domestic spheres, responded to their education in a more general way. In 1953, long-time staff member W.H. Porter-Stewart recorded her impressions of what married alumnae remembered from the Kinnaird experience:

> Old students returning to college speak of what they learned while they were part of the student body, ideals that they had hardly put into words before, a greater concern for other people, for what is needed in society and in the nation, an appreciation of what they rather vaguely call "atmosphere," "the family feeling," "friendliness," "a sense of unity and cooperation," . . . .[39]

The college staff prided itself on the civic values, especially intercommunal friendship, inculcated at Kinnaird, and the communal fires lit when the Punjab was divided between India and Pakistan in 1947 did not wither all of the bonds so created. One alumna argued that a study of the effects of partition on Hindu women's lives would have been a very significant research topic, since the disruption of family life and economic stability seemed to her to have had more long-term effect than college values. However, the overwhelming majority of alumnae housewives interviewed had resettled in India, regaining the economic security and family integrity they had lost in 1947. These women still committed varying amounts of time to social service projects, arguing that the social concerns raised at Kinnaird were perhaps the more long-lasting influence after all.

Sikh Women

Sikhs followed trends similar to the Hindu majority at Kinnaird. So few attended before 1929 that little can be said about early alumnae, but established-period alumnae included few single women and few women who worked for wages (see Table 16). Most Sikh alumnae moved to India in 1947, and reestablished their lives in either New Delhi or Chandigarh, capital of Indian Punjab.

Two Sikh sisters, the first enrolled at Kinnaird in 1930 and the second in 1941, illustrate how successful some alumnae became in achieving responsible public positions in India and Pakistan.[40] Mohinder and Surrinder were from a family of nine children whose father, a journalist and poet, died before the eldest child was 18. Their mother had never attended school although she had been educated at home with her brothers. When her husband died, the mother attempted to find work as a teacher despite her lack of qualifications. This experience convinced her that all of her daughters should have enough education and training to be able to support themselves should the need arise.

Mohinder was the second daughter of the family. She accompanied her elder sister to boarding school, passed her matriculation examination when quite young, and enrolled at Kinnaird because of its proximity to the family home at Amritsar. After graduation in 1934, Mohinder finished a Bachelor of Teaching degree in Lahore, and then received a British scholarship to go to London, where she studied child psychology and teaching. She returned to Lahore, taught in a government girls' school and married a Muslim. Opting for Pakistan in 1947 because of her marriage, Mohinder has been professionally successful by any measure. She joined the Ministry of Education as a development officer in 1955, and since then has held many government and education posts both at home and abroad.

Mohinder persuaded her mother to allow Surrinder to enroll at Kinnaird in 1941. As the sixth child, Surrinder felt a "nobody" at home but "developed an identity of [her] own" at Kinnaird. After graduating in 1945, she started an M.A. which she finished in East Punjab after partition. In 1948, her mother arranged her marriage, although Surrinder could have refused her mother's choice had she wished to do so. She quickly had two children and also taught part-time. When both of her children entered school, Surrinder accepted a full-time position as a private secretary in a manufacturing company in Bangalore. In 1960, after her husband's death, she asked for a transfer to New Delhi and earned a promotion in the company. Surrinder was pleased to be promoted, although she blamed gender discrimination for a perceived lack of opportunity to advance further.

Table 16

KINNAIRD COLLEGE SIKH ALUMNAE:
SINGLE WOMEN AND SALARIED EMPLOYMENT

	Early Period 1913-28		Established Period 1929-47	
	N	%	N	%
Single women	2*	22.2	1	2.8
Married	7	77.8	35	97.2
Unknown	1		11	
Total Sikhs traced	10	100.0	47	100.0
Sikh women who married Europeans or non-Sikhs	1		0	
Proportion of all Sikh marriages		10.0		0
Salaried employment	4	80.0[a]	11	31.4[a]
Never worked for pay	1	20.0	15	42.9
Planned to teach[b]	0	0	9[b]	25.7[b]
Unknown	5		12	
Total Sikhs traced	10	100.0	47	100.0
Married women who worked for pay	3		6	
Proportion of all married women		43.0[a]		17.0[a]

*These women were unmarried at 32 and 33 years of age. They might have eventually married.

[a]Women who worked for a salary were more likely to be traced than women who did not, suggesting that these proportions are high.

[b]These women asked for letters of reference from the college.

SOURCE: This table is based solely on interviews. See Appendix C.

Both Mohinder and Surrinder found their work to be a crucial part of their lives. While they were satisfied in their roles as wives and mothers, their paid employment enabled them to live independently as widows. Mohinder had three daughters, while her sister had a son and a daughter. Their daughters all have careers or are being trained for them, and they are particularly proud of their daughters' successes abroad.

Compared to their mother's life, Mohinder and Surrinder have lost their religious identity. Their mother was about 14, with a scanty education, when her marriage was arranged to a Sikh who was "God-fearing but not orthodox." Both father and mother taught their children the *Guru Granth Sahib* (the Sikh holy book). Mohinder rejected traditional Sikh prayers while still at school. She had several post-graduate degrees and was in her twenties when she chose to marry a man from a very different religious background. Her sister claimed that his religion was "not a factor" because "he could not be distinguished from a Hindu by dress or speech." Mohinder's sisters did not follow such an unorthodox path; even Surrinder accepted her mother's arrangements to marry a man from her own natal group. However, when Surrinder "semi-arranged" her only daughter's marriage, it was to a Hindu rather than to a Sikh.

Loss of religious identity among the children of Kinnaird alumnae was a feature of many Hindu and Sikh families. Not only did the alumnae personally give up whatever religious practices they had learned at home; they made little effort to pass religious training on to their children. Alumnae stressed the pre-professional training of their children, but often ignored religious instruction entirely. Hindu and Sikh alumnae frequently sent their children to schools that offered only Christian instruction, much as they had received, or that were completely secular. Furthermore, the small proportion of alumnae children who had marriages arranged within their parents' natal group meant that they lost the religio-social customs passed along the traditional marriage networks as well.[41]

Kinnaird College alumnae and their children face the threat of increasing social marginality in contemporary India and Pakistan. One daughter of a Brahmo Samaj family, who grew up on the fringes of the Hindu community, illustrates the potential social isolation of those living secular Westernized lives in the 1970s. According to Kamla's report, "so much Western influence" has "made us misfits in our own culture."[42] Kamla was the daughter of a well-known Brahmo entrepreneur and Punjabi leader of the Indian National Congress. Her mother died when she was very young and her father remarried a woman from western India. The stepmother, a graduate of Bombay University, spoke English with her husband,

since it was the only language they shared in common. Kamla and her two brothers studied at home, tutored by a British couple hired by their father. As a result of her stepmother's influence and her education, Kamla considered English to be her native language. She completed her F.A. at Kinnaird in 1920, and left Lahore to study in England. When her stepmother died a year later, her father called her home to care for her young half-brother, manage the household, and entertain his many political guests.

Perhaps in response to her father's public life, Kamla chose to live her own life privately at home. In 1924, she chose to marry a friend of her brothers, and moved to a small provincial town where her Khatri physician husband worked. There she supervised the servants, raised her three children, took care of the household accounts, and entertained friends. She led a life similar to every well-to-do Hindu housewife of her generation. Kamla did "a lot of sewing and gardening" but "never knew what [she] wanted to do in life." She reported that she would have liked to have had a profession because "at times working would have been a big help." But, while Kamla's own life may have been conventional, she raised two independent daughters. They have both worked steadily after marriages to men of their own choice, and one attends international conferences on women's rights.

Kamla's life after 1947 shared many of the problems of separation from family and friends caused by partition of the Punjab. Her husband remained in Lahore to take care of his business property and the couple has lived separately for many years. When Kamla relocated to New Delhi after 1947, she felt an additional social alienation due to the emphasis on the Hindi language and Hindu culture. She had grown up in a "very secular household" and made no effort to learn about Hinduism, although she did teach herself Hindi. One of her brothers had converted to Islam in 1933, which had "shocked" the family. However, both Kamla's religious neutrality and her brother's conversion to Islam leave them socially isolated in India, where family religion is the backbone of most social intercourse.

Viewing English education as leading to social alienation is a contemporary view, and one not shared by most Kinnaird alumnae. The vast majority praised their English education; the Marxist son of an established-period Christian made fun of his mother and her fellow alumnae for their "worship" of English education. Without exception, alumnae interviewed had sent their children to English-language schools and colleges. While English education trained Kinnaird alumnae for roles in the multicultural, intercommunal English-speaking social and political elite existing under the British Raj, it set them apart from the communal identities and political languages of the 1970s and '80s. Few had the foresight to

predict Hindi-language chauvinism, Islamic revivalism, or Sikh nationalism. Today, the daughters and granddaughters of Kinnaird alumnae must decide for themselves whether to try to fit into the recharged religio-social groups of India and Pakistan, or to move abroad, where their English-language skills and professional training help to make their transplant fairly smooth.

Summary

Kinnaird College alumnae of all communal groups had a far greater range of life options than the majority of their Punjabi contemporaries. Christians, because of their financial need to work, and Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims, because of their privileged and liberal families, nearly all had the option to participate in some non-domestic social life. Older at marriage than their less-educated peers, alumnae often had some element of choice in their parents' arrangements or else chose their husbands themselves. Alumnae were frequently geographically mobile, and lived in nuclear households away from the restrictive influence of elders on either side of the family. Above all, college education was a kind of social insurance for alumnae, allowing them the option to teach for a salary if their personal situations required that they do so.

While college education afforded Kinnaird alumnae new behavioral options, the values from their childhood experiences remained important in their lives. Early twentieth-century Punjabi women of all communal groups experienced some variation of a patrilocal and patriarchal family system that idealized passive, dependent women. Males ideally received their social respect through public achievement or employment, while women ideally received the same through their domestic roles as wives and mothers. The tenacity of these norms has provided subject matter for books about South Asian women written over the past 30 years, ranging from Margaret Cormack's early attempts to apply Freudian theories to Hindu women, to Parveen Shaukut Ali's *Status of Women in the Muslim World.*[43]

College education, rather than lifting women out of the cultural values of their society, created some personal conflict for those who tried to reconcile the individual achievement valued at Kinnaird with the family-centered roles they were expected to play at home. Alumnae who did not work often expressed regret for having been "just" wives and mothers, and a feeling of not having lived up to expectations. In some cases, these women's parents planned for them to have professional careers, but more often, such women mentioned the expectations of their college teachers that married alumnae would contribute to their society in some concrete way. Alumnae, in short, left Kinnaird with a sense that their education implied obligations to society. Women without careers expressed

dissatisfaction, at least to a foreign observer, but at the same time, they justified their education by pointing with pride to the way they had reared their own children. Their families were almost without exception smaller than their own mothers' families had been, but they still found a primary identity and satisfaction through their children, much as their own mothers must have found.

Kinnaird College, as detailed above, gave alumnae a secondary socialization that never directly challenged the family-centered, socialized dependence of most students. Principal McNair personally advocated professional roles for women and offered alumnae civic lessons, but students were never urged to go beyond whatever behavioral limits were set by their families. Thus, Kinnaird College was co-opted into a social structure built on the family control of women. This could help to explain why women's colleges with opportunities to perform true role-changing functions in South Asia so often did not. College attendance certainly affected how women performed their domestic roles but it did not, in the long run, effectively challenge domestic roles as the core of alumnae lives.

Notes to Chapter V

1. Several alumnae voiced the opinion that teaching was more respectable than medicine, perhaps because the latter exposed women to the physical side of life. Although purdah restricted women, it also provided a clientele for female professionals in education and medicine. Schools and hospitals reserved for females made teaching and doctoring respectable, for women could work within a female network. In any case, students could not take a pre-medical course at Kinnaird College until the 1950s, so Kinnaird students had to change institutions to study science before that date.

2. Karen Leonard, *The Social History of an Indian Caste: The Kayasths of Hyderabad* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 3.

3. *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morroco and Indonesia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 97.

4. Anil Seal discusses this point from a different perspective in *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 181-91.

5. Andrea Menefee Singh, "The Study of Women in India: Some Problems in Methodology," in *Women in Contemporary India*, ed. Alfred de Souza (Delhi: Menohar, 1975), p. 217.

6. The *Lahore Tribune* reported the findings of a 1919 conference on women's education. A "lady member" of the conference commented that teachers who had passed the Senior Vernacular examination were only paid Rs. 12 per month in Amritsar, which constituted a "non-living" wage for teachers who resided away from home. The newspaper report went on to say that teachers were "badly in debt" as a result of low wages, and the conference members recommended a higher wage scale, based on teachers' training. *Lahore Tribune*, XL, February 26, 1919, pp. 3-4. Kinnaird College alumnae were among the most highly qualified teachers and therefore could usually command a much higher salary than the vernacular school teachers mentioned in the newspaper report.

7. Although several Kinnaird alumnae talked about women who "sacrificed" their lives for their parents, in fact most Christians shared such responsibilities with their siblings.

8. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #97 (enrolled in 1921), New Delhi, 1977.

9. See Appendix D, Table D-I. The sex ratio among English-educated Christians was 155/100 in 1911 and 130/100 in 1931. Not all English-educated Christian men married English-educated wives, but the demographic picture was still one that favored English-educated women in 1911.

10. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #197 (enrolled in 1928), Lahore, 1977, concerning her physician mother. Lily Hylasi Ram is deceased; the information about her is from her schoolmate, Kinnaird College alumna #24 (enrolled in 1916), Lahore, 1977. According to the admissions register, Hulasi Ram was born in 1898 and she was still unmarried in 1935 when she appears on an alumnae address list. The informant described Hulasi Ram as "quite elderly" when she married. Information on the third woman described was found in a letter dated 1939, to Principal McNair from the principal of the CMS Normal School, Benares, asking for financial help for this alumna. Letter in Kinnaird College principal's files, Lahore.

11. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #33 (enrolled in 1917), Lahore, 1977. Joyce is a pseudonym for this alumna. Additional information on this marriage was from Lilavati Najmuddin (1898 - 1983), (enrolled in 1916), Lahore, 1977.

12. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #291 (enrolled in 1931), London, 1976. Mona is a pseudonym for this alumna.

13. Interviews with Kinnaird College alumnae #792 (enrolled in 1938), Karachi, 1977; #361 (enrolled in 1932), Karachi, 1977; #839 (enrolled in 1939), Lahore, 1977; and #1381 (enrolled in 1945), Islamabad, 1977.

14. I.T. McNair to J.F. Robb, Baptist Mission, Gange High School for Girls, Delhi, 12th January, 1940, p. 1. Letter in Kinnaird College principal's files, Lahore. The letter describes changes in the provincial government's hiring policies which affect Christians. See also Appendix C, Table C-I.

15. Quotation is from interview with Kinnaird College alumna #291 (enrolled in 1931), London, 1976. Anglo-Indians, in this context, were the children of European fathers and Indian mothers. They were not easily assimilated into either European or Punjabi society, and bore the usual hardships of half-castes. For a discussion of Anglo-Indian stereotypes, see Richard Schermerhorn, "Socio-Cultural History and Sex Roles in an Urban Minority of India," *Sociological Focus* VIII, 2 (April, 1975), pp. 173-81.

16. See chapter III, note 51. Quotation from interview with Kinnaird College alumna #24 (enrolled in 1916), Lahore, 1977.

17. See Table 8, p. 79, and Table 9, p. 81.

18. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #741 (enrolled in 1937), Karachi, 1977.

19. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #629 (enrolled in 1936), Lahore, 1977. Zohra is a pseudonym for this alumna.

20. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #167 (enrolled in 1927), Lahore, 1977. Hamida is a pseudonym for this alumna.

21. Khurshid Begum (enrolled in 1928) died in 1947. The information about her life is from an interview with one of her daughters at Lahore, 1977.

22. Jones, *Arya Dharm*, p. 17.

23. Ibid., pp. 103-8.

24. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #40 (enrolled in 1917), New Delhi, 1977.

25. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #700 (enrolled in 1937), London, 1976. The Kanya Mahavidyala was quite different from the English-medium schools most students attended before they went to Kinnaird. It was the oldest Arya Samaj girls' school, with roots in the 1890s, and its curriculum stressed nationalistic Hindu revivalism along with academic subjects. Classes were in Hindi and Sanskrit, while English was an optional subject. Students learned to "feel independent, not British subjects." For example, an Indian flag was raised every Monday with the singing of patriotic songs, including the future national anthem of India. The students wore uniforms made of *khadi*, a homespun cotton cloth symbolizing economic freedom from imported goods, and students marched together in "military regiments."

26. Letter from _____, B.A., L.L., Pleader, Bannu, N.W.F.P., to Principal McNair, 21st April, 1935. Letter in Kinnaird College principal's files, Lahore.

27. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #829 (enrolled in 1939), New Delhi, 1977. The alumna "forced" her mother to arrange her sisters' marriages in that sisters were customarily married in birth order. The second single alumna traced was #1092 (enrolled in 1942), Madison, WI, 1978.

28. Tandon, passim; Mehta, *Daddyji* and *Mamaji*. John Clausen makes the distinction between the evolution and the transmission of normative expectations in *Socialization and Society* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1968), p. 7.

29. See Rose, *A Glossary of Tribes and Castes*, for one attempt to rank castes in the Punjab. I attempted to rank Khatri marriages but found that all written and oral sources disagreed on rankings. Husbands' names were determined for 67 out of 309 Hindu Khatris who attended Kinnaird between 1929 and 1947. Sixty percent of these 67 names were *jati* names and thus could be identified. The other forty percent were either foreign or too general to identify. The following example of hypergamous arranged marriages is from interview with Kinnaird College alumna #586 (enrolled in 1935), New Delhi, 1977.

30. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #130 (enrolled in 1924), New Delhi, 1977.

31. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #80 (enrolled in 1920), New Delhi, 1977.

32. An amusing example of a Khatri man who wanted an English-speaking wife but who was misled about his bride's education during the wedding negotiations can be found in Mehta's *Daddyji*, pp. 130-35. Quotation is from interview with Kinnaird College alumna #197 (enrolled in 1928), Lahore, 1977.

33. Interviews with Kinnaird College alumnae #553 (enrolled in 1935); #1033 (enrolled in 1941); and #415 (enrolled in 1933), all in New Delhi, 1977.

34. I.T. McNair, *KCR, 1938-39*, pp. 10-11.

35. Interviews with Kinnaird College alumnae #1022 (enrolled in 1941); #1200 (enrolled in 1943); #586 (enrolled in 1935); and #1508 (enrolled in 1946), all in New Delhi, 1977.

36. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #714 (enrolled in 1937), New Delhi, 1977.

37. All of the above, Rama Mehta, *The Western Educated Hindu Woman* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1970), pp. 39-48.

38. Interviews with Kinnaird College alumnae #961 (enrolled in 1940); #617 (enrolled in 1936); #1033 (enrolled in 1941); and #553 (enrolled in 1935), all in New Delhi, 1976.

39. W.H. Porter, *KCR, 1952-53*, p. 16.

40. Interviews with Kinnaird College alumnae #266 (enrolled in 1930), Lahore, 1977; and #1023 (enrolled in 1941), New Delhi, 1977. Mohinder and Surrinder are pseudonyms for these alumnae.

41. See chapter IV, pp. 95-99, for a discussion of this point.

42. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #56 (enrolled in 1918), New Delhi, 1977. Kamla is a pseydonym for this alumna. For information on her father's nationalist activities, see Norman Gerald Barrier, "The Arya Samaj and Congress Politics in the Punjab," *Journal of Asian Studies* XXVI (May, 1967), pp. 367-77.

43. Margaret Cormack, *The Hindu Women*, and Parveen Shaukat Ali, *Status of Women in the Muslim World*.

VI

POSTSCRIPT: KINNAIRD COLLEGE, 1947-83

Partition of the Punjab and creation of the Islamic state of Pakistan altered the political milieu of Christian colleges in Lahore. Christianity became a minority religion, and mission colleges lost all remnants of official and unofficial patronage they had enjoyed under the British colonial government. Although the general policy of Islamic religious instruction in educational institutions was accepted after 1947, there was no government move to limit the religious freedom of mission colleges in the 1950s. Nevertheless, Christian missions throughout the province reorganized Bible teaching at their schools, recognizing the need to accommodate the Muslim majority. The Kinnaird staff decided in 1956 that students should be offered alternatives to Bible classes, and thereafter courses such as Citizenship, Religious Drama, and Social Service could be substituted for Christian instruction.[1]

The Punjab University Senate had a difficult time defining Islamic education after Independence, but it was able to decide that the colonial language, English, should be gradually replaced by Urdu as the medium of instruction and examination for higher education. Despite this major change in the language policy of the university and some organizational changes to deal with the large numbers of candidates for its examinations, university policy for women's higher education was remarkably similar to policy in the 1930s. Domestic training remained an issue, and officials finally established a separate college in the 1950s, to teach women domestic science.[2]

Kinnaird College continued to offer women higher education intellectually equal to the education available at men's liberal arts colleges, allowing graduates the option of employment outside the home. The staff increased pre-professional choices by adding both pre-medical and pre-engineering science courses in the 1950s, as well as commercial practice (typing), nursing, and social work in the 1970s.[3] Principal McNair, who had stressed intellectual equality in college education throughout the 1930s and '40s, was due to retire in 1947, but after partition of the Punjab, she returned to help the college recover from the loss of staff and students. In 1950,

Priobala Mangat Rai assumed the position of principal, after 16 years on the college staff. Mangat Rai, a former Kinnaird student, received her academic training in Lahore and America. She earned two M.A. degrees in history, one from the Lahore Government College (for men) in 1934, and the other from Radcliffe College in 1945. She also spent a year at the Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Virginia. After she became principal, Mangat Rai was twice the Dorothy Cadbury Lecturer at the Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, U.K.[4] Mangat Rai retired in 1969. After an interim period, Mira Phailbus, an alumna of Kinnaird College during the 1950s, became principal, and she continued in that position today.

In 1959, P. Mangat Rai explicitly committed the college to promoting women's public roles in Pakistan:

> There is no doubt that Kinnaird College is faced with unique opportunities in this extremely formative and critical period in the history of this new country. Muslim women are emerging from seclusion in large numbers. They are seeking to enter the professions and want to build up a new set of conventions and social behaviour which will fit the emancipated woman. They can no longer live within the pattern of life followed by their grandmothers.
>
> The Kinnaird College has a wholesome liberal tradition and can help women to achieve this new role in society and public life.[5]

However, political events constrained both the college and its alumnae in their efforts to consolidate the expansion of Muslim women's roles achieved after Independence.

Throughout the 1950s, unstable political conditions in Pakistan complicated the staff's efforts to reestablish the pre-partition Kinnaird ethos. Political decisions affecting education policy for the Punjab University brought about changes at the college. The most ambitious educational reforms of the decade followed Ayub Khan's coup d'etat in 1958. His National Commission on Education recommended radical changes in the entire educational system. However, the attempt to raise the pass standards of the university in 1962, along with other innovations, led to student rioting, and the government rescinded major reforms.[6] Principal Mangat Rai had complained in 1955 that one of the "revolutionary changes" brought about since Independence had been the "tearing down of the old University system."[7] In 1957, she described Kinnaird as a haven of stability in the midst of educational and political change.

Illustration 11
P. Mangat Rai, Principal 1959-69

> The accompaniment of these changes has been a lack of direction in the administration, economic difficulties and constant rise in prices, all of which create an atmosphere of insecurity and uncertainty. Life within the College is a contrast to all this. It follows a traditional pattern. The annual functions . . . follow each other as regularly as the seasons.[8]

The Christian staff wove the "traditional pattern" of college life in the 1920s. They reworked it in the 1930s to accommodate a non-Christian student majority, and provided a liberal education for all in the 1940s despite increasingly acrimonious political conditions. Independence did not end the external pressures on the college; major educational policy changes through the Punjab University were added to political upheavals. The staff's challenge is even greater in the '80s, as President Zia-ul Haq's Islamic conservatism threatens to curtail any institutional attempt to socialize women for public roles.

Just as Independence completely altered the political milieu of Kinnaird, it also transformed the student population. The desire to study science was one of the few characteristics shared by the two distinct groups attending Kinnaird after 1947. Muslim refugee students formed a substantial minority of the student body until the mid-1950s, causing special problems.[9] However, the refugee students with interrupted schooling were still better prepared for English-language study than the increased number of disadvantaged Christian students.

Many Christian families connected with Kinnaird College moved to India after 1947, believing that they would fare better in a secular state than in the Islamic state of Pakistan. In the 1950s, about a third of the Christian students were from village families with no tradition of women's education, and required more financial and academic help than earlier Christians.[10] They generally had attended Urdu-medium primary and secondary schools, and were not accustomed to English-language instruction. Most of these disadvantaged students needed career training.

As members of a religious minority within an Islamic state, Christians faced special employment problems after graduation. Whether or not the Pakistani government actually discriminated against them, many perceived their career opportunities to be lessened by the official position of Islam as the state religion. One Christian who graduated in 1949 seemed able to adjust to living in an Islamic state because of her special background.[11] Her Muslim father had converted to Christianity as a young man, but had never studied English. She felt his life-long insistence that she know Urdu as well

as she knew English was a great asset to her adjustment. Although she could have found employment in a mission school, she preferred to work for the government because it offered better pay. While some Christian graduates have found secure jobs in Pakistani society, many have not. A steady stream of Kinnaird alumnae emigrated from Lahore to Canada and other English-speaking countries. The number of Christian emigrants increased after 1972, when the Government of Pakistan nationalized all private schools and colleges. Mission institutions that had preferentially employed Christian teachers could no longer do so. Families that could afford to do so moved abroad, hoping to find better employment opportunities for both men and women.

Kinnaird College accepted Muslims from a wide range of backgrounds for the first few years after Independence, but by the mid-'50s, the college reestablished a reputation for exclusiveness. Kinnaird maintained a relatively small enrollment and a high teacher/pupil ratio, despite an increased demand for women's higher education. In 1954, for example, Kinnaird enrolled about 300 students in four classes, while Lahore College for Women enrolled nearly 800 and Islamia College for Women, more than 1,100.[12]

English-language higher education attracted the daughters of the Muslim financial and administrative elite, and Kinnaird became their preferred college in the 1950s. After Independence, English education was attacked by some political factions because it perpetuated a special status for the children of this group. One critic called English education a "senseless cultural imperialism." He went on to claim that the Pakistan "bureaucracy . . . resisted all attempts at raising the status of Urdu and propagated the idea of class institutions 'for the production of leaders' which could not but become the preserves of their children, because they commanded influence and resources."[13] Even a Muslim alumna from the 1930s described the college as a "finishing school for wealthy girls" in the 1950s.[14] However, wealthy families interested only in domestic futures for their daughters started sending them to new colleges specializing in domestic science, while Kinnaird continued to promote career options for its graduates.

Just as new women's colleges in the 1930s and '40s had provided employment opportunities for an earlier generation, another wave of expansion in the 1950s created employment for later Kinnaird alumnae. Teachers and headmistresses trained in English were once more in demand. But a significant difference in the employment options for these alumnae, compared with those for earlier periods, was that the connection between professional employment and a single life had declined. In the 1970s, some attributed this change to the increased cost of living and the desirability of having two incomes. One alumna suggested that it was becoming "fashionable" for

married women to work "as long as the job at least paid for itself . . . [that is] for extra servants and transport."[15] Almost all employed married alumnae taught in women's colleges or occupied other gender-segregated positions, although a handful worked in government service.

The daughters of Kinnaird alumnae from the early 1950s comprise part of the generation of students now at the college. Their chances for vocational training certainly exceed the range of options available to their predecessors, yet their career choices remain tied to cultural norms of gender segregation. Ironically, it is no longer simply families' conceptions of respectable employment that limit women's public activity. Recent changes in the Government of Pakistan, along with developments elsewhere in the Islamic world, threaten to further restrict women's activities. The more stringent application of Islamic principles to govern public life in Pakistan suggests that women's social world and employment opportunities will remain confined to gender-segregated arenas in the near future.

Notes to Postscript

1. P. Mangat Rai, *KCR, 1951-52*, p. 21, and *KCR, 1955-56*, p. 29; P. Mangat Rai and L. Najmuddin, *KCR, 1962-63*, p. 23; and P. Mangat Rai, *KCR, 1956-57*, pp. 12-13.

2. P. Mangat Rai first mentions the Lady Shahabuddin Domestic Science College in 1954. See P. Mangat Rai, *KCR, 1953-54*, p. 20. In 1956, the University Report records the affiliation of the provincial government's College of Home and Social Sciences, Lahore, which offers "an integrated course of four years leading to the B.Sc. in Home Economics." *Panjab University Report, 1957*, p. 11; *The Panjab, A Review of the First Six Years (August 1947-August 1953)* (Lahore: The Director, Public Relations, Punjab, no date), p. 64.

3. Mira Phailbus, *KCR, 1971-74*, p. 14.

4. Personal communication from P. Mangat Rai, September, 1983.

5. P. Mangat Rai, *Kinnaird College, Lahore, Pakistan* (Lahore: c. 1959), p. 3.

6. *Report of the National Commission on Education* (Karachi: c. 1960), and P. Mangat Rai, *KCR, 1959-60*, pp. 8-10. For the fate of the educational reforms, see *Punjab University Report, 1962* (Lahore: n.d.), p. ii, and P. Mangat Rai, *KCR, 1962-63*, pp. 7-8.

7. P. Mangat Rai, *KCR, 1955-56*, p. 10.

8. P. Mangat Rai, *KCR, 1957-58*, p. 9.

9. W. H. Porter, *KCR, 1952-53*, p. 12.

10. P. Mangat Rai, *KCR, 1953-54*, p. 15. See also, P. Mangat Rai, *KCR, 1955-56*, p. 12, and Michelle Gibson Maskiell, "Women's Higher Education and Family Networks in South Asia," pp. 133-37, and Appendix B, Table B-VI, p. 239.

11. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #1189 (enrolled in 1943 and left after F.A.; enrolled again 1947 for B.A.), Lahore, 1977.

12. P. Mangat Rai, *KCR, 1954-55*, p. 9.

13. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, *Education in Pakistan: An Inquiry into Objectives and Achievements* (Karachi: Ma'aref Ltd., 1975), pp. 169-70.

14. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #629 (enrolled in 1936), Lahore, 1977.

15. Interview with Kinnaird College alumna #2302 (enrolled in 1955), Islamabad, 1977.

APPENDIX A

SELECTIONS FROM KINNAIRD COLLEGE FINANCIAL REPORTS

SELECTIONS FROM THE BALANCE SHEET:
KINNAIRD COLLEGE FOR WOMEN,
1st APRIL 1920 - 31st MARCH 1931

Income	Percent of Total		Expenditure
Student Fees	26%		
Punjab Government Grant and Scholarships for Students (including a District Board Scholarship)	19		
Punjab University Grant	4		
Salaries for Missionary Teachers and Grants from Various Christian Missions	42		
Balance from 1919-20, etc.	9		
	100%	=	35,000 rupees (rounded to nearest thousand)

Source: *KCR, 1920-21.*

SELECTIONS FROM THE ACCOUNT OF KINNAIRD COLLEGE FOR WOMEN, FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st MARCH, 1934

Income	Percent of Total	Expenditure
Student Fees	53%	
Punjab Government Grant	21	
Salaries for Missionary Teachers and Grants from Various Christian Missions	26	
	100%	= 48,000 rupees (rounded to nearest thousand)

Note: The college also received a grant from the Punjab University totaling 200 rupees, which represented less than one percent of the year's receipts.

Source: *KCR, 1933-34.*

SELECTIONS FROM THE ACCOUNT OF KINNAIRD COLLEGE FOR WOMEN, FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st MARCH, 1947

Income	Percent of Total	Expenditure
Student Fees	69%	
Punjab Government Grant	19	
Salaries for Missionary Teachers and Grants from Various Christian Missions	12	
	100%	= 88,000 rupees (rounded to nearest thousand)

Note: The cooperating Christian missions gave 4,000 rupees in excess of the amount transferred from the Kinnaird College Association General Account to the College Account for current expenses. However, the Kinnaird College Association Account had a deficit of 18,500 rupees for the year. This represented the continuing debt for purchase of the Jail Road site in 1933.

Source: *KCR, 1946-47.*

APPENDIX B

USE OF THE KINNAIRD COLLEGE ADMISSIONS REGISTER

Information varied on each student enrolled at Kinnaird College from 1913 to 1947. Some cases included only the date and a name entered in the admissions register; others provided name, date of birth, father's name, address of father or guardian, father's occupation, religion, and date of leaving. Each student's University of Punjab registration number was also entered. This facilitated matching the names in the register with the names printed in the university examination results lists. Even so, identification problems were common. A student was often listed by her first name only, without any indication of which part of her father's name she might have used as a second name. It was not unusual for a student to use different parts of her father's name at various times. One informant reported a completely different second name from the one used on all of her records. When classes were small, this did not present a problem; but from the 1930s to 1947, there were several doubtful cases.

This core of information for all 1,544 students registered before 1947 was coded as nine separate variables for computer analysis, using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. Information taken from the published university examination results lists was expressed as two additional variables, date of First Arts examination and date of Bachelor of Arts examination. If a student registered at Kinnaird and then transferred to another college in the Punjab, it was possible to trace her through her university registration number. All affiliated colleges had distinct combinations of letters for these numbers, and private students were identified by the letter "z." However, students who transferred outside the Punjab could not be traced. Students' names were lost for other reasons, such as errors in the published lists. There were separate lists for supplemental examinations held every year, but not all of these were available. Interview data supplemented the university examination results lists. However, the number of students who completed degrees is probably greater than the number used in my analysis.

The address of a student's father or guardian at the time of admission was coded as two separate variables. Ambiguity in coding resulted from the practice of naming provincial administrative districts after the area's major city or town.

Usually, families living in rural areas or small towns listed their home addresses both by name of place and by name of district. For example, if a family residence was listed as Lahore (or simply a street address), I assumed that the family lived in Lahore City. The student would be coded as living in Lahore District and as living in the district center, Lahore City. Clarkabad is a Christian settlement close to Lahore City. Students from Clarkabad were coded as living in Lahore District and as living outside of the district center. This was a rather crude way of distinguishing between urban centers on the one hand and smaller towns or rural areas on the other.

Fathers' occupations were recorded in some detail in the admissions register, although they were all self-styled. Therefore, it was difficult to distinguish among some categories. The word "service" was often found by itself, which could indicate anything from a highly placed government official to a lowly messenger. "Service" seemed to be used more commonly for menial jobs, however, and was grouped with miscellaneous occupations where literacy was questionable. Another difficulty lay in deciding whether "landlord" and "agriculture" were distinct categories for fathers living outside district centers. In rural areas, the one category shaded into the other very easily. The main criterion for categorization of fathers' occupations was the educational component, especially whether or not a job required English literacy.

Religion was usually entered in the admissions register as Christian, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, and occasionally Parsi or Jain. A few families designated themselves as Brahmo Samaj. There were a number families listed as "Vedic," "Arya Samaj," or "Aryan," and these were put into a separate category. However, there were many more Arya Samaj families represented at the college than were so designated at the time of their daughters' admission. In fact, none of the alumnae who described the Arya Samaj activities of their fathers or grandfathers was listed in the admissions register as belonging to an Arya Samaj family.

The Punjab University distinguished between Brahmin and non-Brahmin Hindus (NBH) in its registration system. However, most of my information concerning Hindu castes was determined by looking at the name of each student's father and grouping them according to the information in H.A. Rose's *A Glossary of Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*. A final distinction was made within the Muslim group, by counting those fathers (or daughters) with "Sayyid" in their names. A similar procedure was followed for fathers with "Sheikh" in their names.

Application forms for admission to Kinnaird were available for most years after the mid-1930s. Samples were taken from these forms at ten-year intervals, which constituted the

bulk of the information on previous education. Interview data supplied more detailed information.

Information in the admissions register was determined by the staff of the college. Interviews could expand this data base for a few students, but the register contained the only information available for 70 percent of the alumnae. Therefore, my research design was shaped by categories chosen by the college staff, in turn reflecting the categories of the Punjab University.

Using only the information in the admissions register, I wanted to establish a profile of the family and individual characteristics for those completing the four-year B.A. course at Kinnaird. I hypothesized that those individuals who left before the completing of either degree would be similar as a group, and that those who completed the two degrees would also be similar. Thus, students were divided into four groups according to their length of stay and completion of F.A. and B.A. degrees. (The variables for date of leaving and date of admission were used to compute the length of stay for each student. Students were assigned the date of their F.A. examination as their date of leaving if they could not otherwise be traced.) The first division was between those who left before taking the F.A. examination or who failed the examination, and those who passed. It was necessary to have fairly complete information on a student for her to be included in this analysis; her dates of admission, leaving, and degree(s) all had to be known. Students who transferred to or from Kinnaird and other colleges between the F.A. and the B.A. examinations were excluded from this analysis. Students who passed the F.A. examination were then divided into three groups: those who left immediately after the F.A. examination; those who stayed one or more months after the F.A. examination but left before the B.A. examination, or failed the B.A. examination; and those who passed the B.A. examination. The chart on the following page outlines these groups.

DIVISION OF STUDENT BY EXITYPE

1.	Date of Admission	---- Stay 1	Date Left	Left without F.A.
2.	Date of F.A.	----	Date Left	Left with F.A.
3.		---- Stay 2	Date	Stayed after F.A.
			Left	Left without B.A.
4.	Date of B.A.	----	Date Left	Left with B.A.

The results of this analysis are presented in Tables B-I and B-II. This information is discussed in greater detail in Maskiell, "Women's Higher Education and Family Networks in South Asia," chapter III.

Table B-I

KINNAIRD COLLEGE STUDENTS
COMPLETION OF DEGREE: EARLY PERIOD, 1913-28

Count Row % Col % Tot %	Left before F.A.	Left with F.A.	Left before B.A.	Left with B.A.	Row Total
Religion					
Christian	7	33	13	33	86
	8.1	38.4	15.1	38.4	60.1
	33.3	68.8	68.4	80.0	
	4.9	23.1	9.1	23.1	
Hindu	11	8	4	15	38
	28.9	21.1	10.5	39.5	26.6
	52.4	16.7	21.1	27.3	
	7.7	5.6	2.8	10.5	
Muslim,	3	7	2	7	19
Sikh, and	15.8	36.8	10.5	36.8	13.3
Others	14.3	14.6	10.5	12.7	
	2.1	4.9	1.4	4.9	
Column Total	21	48	19	55	143
	14.7	33.6	13.3	38.5	100.0

Number of Missing Cases: 62

Table B-II

KINNAIRD COLLEGE STUDENTS
COMPLETION OF DEGREE: ESTABLISHED PERIOD, 1929-47

Count Row % Col % Tot %	Left before F.A.	Left with F.A.	Left before B.A.	Left with B.A.	Row Total
Religion					
Christian	59	39	15	87	200
	29.5	19.5	7.5	43.5	20.9
	22.4	18.7	19.2	21.3	
	6.2	4.1	1.6	9.1	
Hindu	133	119	43	195	490
	27.1	24.3	8.8	39.8	51.1
	50.6	56.9	55.1	47.7	
	13.9	12.4	4.5	20.3	
Muslim	22	26	6	68	122
	18.0	21.3	4.9	55.7	12.7
	8.4	12.4	7.7	16.6	
	2.3	2.7	.6	7.1	
Sikh	45	24	14	52	135
	33.3	17.8	10.4	38.5	14.1
	17.1	11.5	17.9	12.7	
	4.7	2.5	1.5	5.4	
Other	4	1	0	7	12
	33.3	8.3	0	58.3	1.3
	1.5	.5	0	1.7	
	.4	.1	0	.7	
Column Total	263	209	78	409	959
	27.4	21.8	8.1	42.6	100.0

Number of Missing Cases: 380

Table B-III

KINNAIRD COLLEGE CHRISTIAN STUDENTS:
FAMILY ADDRESS WHEN ADMITTED

	Early Period 1913-28				Established Period 1929-47			
	District Centers		Outside District Centers		District Centers		Outside District Centers	
Address	N	%*	N	%*	N	%*	N	%*
Lahore	24	25.8	0	0	64	28.1	5	2.2
E. Punjab	27	29.0	1	1.1	67	29.4	16	7.0
Pakistan+	1	1.1	1	1.1	2	.9	1	.4
W. Punjab	18	19.4	6	6.5	28	12.3	22	9.6
India+	12	12.9	0	0	4	1.8	15	6.6
Princely States+	3	3.2	0	0	3	1.3	1	.4
	85		8		168		60	
% of each period		91.4		8.7		73.8		26.2

NOTE: Addresses known for 93 out of 104 Christian students in the early period, and for 228 out of 240 Chrsitian students in the established period.

%* represents the count of each cell of the table as a proportion of all Christian students whose addresses were known.

+Pakistan includes all areas of the country in 1982 except the Punjab, here listed as West Punjab. India includes all areas of the country in 1982 except the Punjab, here listed as East Punjab. The Princely States listed here were mostly within contemporary Pakistan. See Table B-VII.

Table B-IV

KINNAIRD COLLEGE HINDU STUDENTS:
FAMILY ADDRESS WHEN ADMITTED

	Early Period 1913-28				Established Period 1929-47			
	District Centers		Outside District Centers		District Centers		Outside District Centers	
Address	N	%*	N	%*	N	%*	N	%*
Lahore	31	54.4	1	1.8	385	59.5	5	.8
E. Punjab	13	22.8	0	0	76	11.7	10	1.5
Pakistan+	0	0	1	1.8	0	0	11	1.7
W. Punjab	3	5.3	2	3.5	85	13.1	18	2.8
India+	3	5.3	1	1.8	26	4.0	10	1.5
Foreign+	2	3.5	0	0	1	0.2	0	0
Princely States+	0	0	0	0	8	1.2	12	1.9
	52		5		581		66	
% of each period		91.2		8.8		89.8		10.2

NOTE: Addresses known for 57 out of 65 Hindu students in the early period, and for 647 out of 672 Hindu students in the established period.

%* represents the count of each cell of the table as a proportion of all Hindu students whose addresses were known.

+Pakistan includes all areas of the country in 1982 except the Punjab, here listed as West Punjab. India includes all areas of the country in 1982 except the Punjab, here listed as East Punjab. Foreign indicates that a student's father's address was outside of the South Asian subcontinent. The Princely States listed here were mostly within contemporary Pakistan. See Table B-VII.

Table B-V

KINNAIRD COLLEGE MUSLIM STUDENTS:
FAMILY ADDRESS WHEN ADMITTED

	Early Period 1913-28				Established Period 1929-47			
	District Centers		Outside District Centers		District Centers		Outside District Centers	
Address	N	%*	N	%*	N	%*	N	%*
Lahore	3	33.3	0	0	96	49.7	3	1.6
E. Punjab	2	22.2	0	0	27	14.0	3	1.6
Pakistan+	0	0	0	0	1	.5	3	1.6
W. Punjab	1	11.1	0	0	34	17.6	5	2.6
India+	1	11.1	0	0	4	2.1	8	4.1
Foreign+	0	0	0	0	1	.5	1	.5
Princely States+	1	11.1	1	11.1	2	1.0	5	2.6
	8		1		165		28	
% of each period		88.9		11.1		85.5		14.5

NOTE: Addresses known for 9 out of 9 Muslim students in the early period, and for 193 out of 202 Muslim students in the established period.

%* represents the count of each cell of the table as a proportion of all Muslim students whose addresses were known.

+Pakistan includes all areas of the country in 1982 except the Punjab, here listed as West Punjab. India includes all areas of the country in 1982 except the Punjab, here listed as East Punjab. Foreign indicates that a student's father's address was outside of the South Asian subcontinent. The Princely States listed here were mostly within contemporary Pakistan. See Table B-VII.

Table B-VI

KINNAIRD COLLEGE SIKH STUDENTS:
FAMILY ADDRESS WHEN ADMITTED

	Early Period 1913-28				Established Period 1929-47			
	District Centers		Outside District Centers		District Centers		Outside District Centers	
Address	N	%*	N	%*	N	%*	N	%*
Lahore	2	28.6	0	0	63	33.7	2	1.1
E. Punjab	3	42.9	2	28.6	28	15.0	15	8.0
Pakistan+	0	0	0	0	5	2.7	6	3.2
W. Punjab	0	0	0	0	37	19.8	14	7.5
India+	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	2.7
Princely States+	0	0	0	0	4	2.1	8	4.3
	5		2		137		50	
% of each period		71.4		28.6		73.3		26.7

NOTE: Addresses known for 7 out of 12 Sikh students in the early period, and for 187 out of 202 Sikh students in the established period.

%* represents the count of each cell of the table as a proportion of all Sikh students whose addresses were known.

+Pakistan includes all areas of the country in 1982 except the Punjab, here listed as West Punjab. India includes all areas of the country in 1982 except the Punjab, here listed as East Punjab. The Princely States listed here were mostly within contemporary Pakistan. See Table B-VII.

Table B-VII

PLACES OF RESIDENCE LISTED IN THE KINNAIRD COLLEGE ADMISSIONS REGISTER

Family Address by Category	Early Period 1913-28		Established Period, 1929-47	
	N	%	N	%
Lahore District				
Lahore City	67		630	
Other	1		1	
Lahore Total	68	38%	631	49%
East Punjab Districts				
Amritsar	9		40	
Ferozepur	13		22	
Gurdaspur (Pathankot Dist.)	3		26	
Hoshiarpur	4		13	
Jullunder	4		18	
Ludhiana	5		11	
Others	3		24	
East Punjab Total	41	32%	154	12%
West Punjab Districts				
Gujranwala	7		24	
Gujrat	2		12	
Jhellum	1		8	
Lyallpur	2		29	
Multan	2		30	
Rawalpindi	3		21	
Sahiwal (Montgomery)	2		22	
Sargodha	0		31	
Sheikhupura	0		13	
Sialkot	3		23	
Others	7		21	
West Punjab Total	29	16%	249	19%
Pakistan (minus Punjab)				
Sind	3		15	
NWFP	2		40	
Baluchistan	1		11	
Pakistan Total	6	3%	66	5%
India (minus Punjab)				
Delhi	6		35	
Others	18		96	
India Total	24	13%	131	10%
Princely States				
Kashmir	4		21	
Others	5		43	
Princely States Total	9	5%	64	5%
Others	2	1%	4	0%
		99%		100%
Total Students: Family Address Known	179		1,299	
Missing Cases	26		40	
Total Number of Cases	205		1,339	

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Table D-VIII

FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS AS LISTED
IN THE KINNAIRD COLLEGE ADMISSIONS REGISTER

Fathers' Occupations, by Category	Early Period 1913-28		Established Period 1929-47	
	N	%	N	%
Unspecified Service Total	0	0	43	3.3
Education				
Principal, Schoolmaster, Headmaster	7		26	
Professor, Teacher, Lecturer, Reader, Educationalist	12		47	
Librarian, Registrar, Bursar	0		4	
Education Total	19	10.7	77	5.9
Government Service				
Unspecified	15		220	
Inspector of Schools	2		5	
Teacher	1		10	
Education Administration	0		16	
Military	1		20	
Police	0		16	
Judge	4		38	
Doctor	2		23	
Engineer	0		18	
Government Research	0		4	
Miscellaneous	2		5	
Government Service Total	27	15.3	375	28.8
Professions				
Doctor, Optician, Dentist, Surgeon	12		51	
Lawyer, Barrister, Pleader, *Vakel*, Advocate, etc.	17		113	
Engineer	1		40	
Professions Total	30	16.9	204	15.7
Business				
Unspecified	9		145	
Contractor	3		20	
Accountant	3		9	
Insurance	1		12	
Banking	2		13	
Factory Owner, Industrialist	0		12	
Others	1		1	
Business Total	19	10.7	212	16.3
Religious Workers				
Priest, Minister, Clergyman, Padre, Preacher, Pastor	15		28	
Church Worker, Mission Service, Evangelist Bible Teacher	3		16	
Mission Doctor or Teacher	2		2	
Servants of India Society, Hindu Religious Workers, Muslim Religious Workers, Parsi Priest	2		3	
Religious Workers Total	22	12.4	49	3.8
Miscellaneous Literate				
Petition Writer, Clerk, Head Clerk, Editor	5		14	
Secretary	5		5	
Miscellaneous Literate Total	10	5.6	19	1.5
Agriculture Total	7	4.0	22	1.7
Landlord Total	1	0.6	57	4.4
Miscellaneous, Literacy Questionable Compounder, Photographer, Manager, Undertaker	9	5.1	17	1.3
Princely State Service Total	1	0.6	30	2.3
Retired Total	12	6.8	80	6.1
Deceased Total	20	11.3	116	8.9
Total Students Whose Fathers' Occupations Known	177	100.0	1,301	100.0
Fathers' Occupations Unknown	28		38	
Total Cases	205		1,339	

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Table B-IX

PREVIOUS EDUCATION OF KINNAIRD COLLEGE STUDENTS

Secondary School Type	Early Period 1913-28		Established Period 1929-47	
	N	%	N	%
Lahore, Christian				
Kinnaird High School	61		21	
Sacred Heart Convent	4		80	
Others	0		4	
Lahore, Christian Total	65	61	105	16
Lahore, Government				
Lady Maclagan	2		30	
Lahore College	6		18	
Queen Mary	2		36	
Victoria	0		10	
Lahore, Government Total	10	9	94	14
Lahore, Sectarian				
Sir Ganga Ram	n.a.		82	
Hans Raj Mahila Maha vidyalaya	n.a.		26	
Others	n.a.		15	
Lahore, Sectarian Total	0	0	123	19
Private Students (studied at home)	4	4	89	14
Outside Lahore, Christian				
Alexandra, Amritsar	5		34	
Avalon, Pathankot	9		13	
Queen Mary, Delhi	1		5	
Dehra Dun	1		5	
Baptist Mission, Delhi	2		2	
Other mission	2		15	
Convents	1		29	
Christian Total	21	20	103	16
Princely States (Victoria, Patiala)	0	0	2	0
Outside Lahore, Sectarian				
Sikh, Ferozepur	2		6	
M.B. Girls, Amritsar	3		0	
Indra Prasth, Delhi	1		1	
Sikh, Abbottabad	n.a.		7	
Arya Samaj, Jullunder	0		2	
Sectarian, Total	6	6	16	2
Government, West Punjab: Campbellpur, Gujranwala, Gujrat, Jhang, Jhellum, Lyallpur, Mianwali, Multan, Rawalpindi, Sahiwal, Sargodha, Sheikhupura, Sialkot				
Total	0	0	69	11
Government, East Punjab: Amritsar, Batala, Ferozepur, Gurdaspur, Hissar, Hoshiarpur, Jullunder, Ludhiana, Rohtak				
Total	0	0	29	4
India, minus Punjab: Agra, Aligarh, Ambala, Benares, Karnal, Kulu and others	0	0	23	4
Total, previous education known	106	99	653	100
Missing cases	99		686	
Total number of cases	205		1,339	

Table B-X

KINNAIRD STUDENTS' PREVIOUS EDUCATION:
EARLY PERIOD, 1913-28

Type of School	Christian		Hindu		Muslim		Sikh		Other		Total Count, All Religions (Previous education known)
	N	%a	N	%a	N	%a	N	%a	N	%a	N
Lahore, Mission	53	75.7	11	42.3	1	20.0	0	0	1	50.0	
Lahore, Non-Mission	1	1.4	6	23.1	0	0	1	50.0	0	0	
Private (Studied at home)	0	0	2	7.7	2	40.0	0	0	0	0	
Mission or Convent, outside Lahore	7	10.0	3	11.5	1	20.0	0	0	1	50.0	
East Punjab, non-Mission	7	10.0	4	15.4	1	20.0	1	50.0	0	0	
West Punjab, non-Mission	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Other	2	2.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Total Each Religion	70	100.0	26	100.0	5	100.0	2	100.0	2	100.0	105

Number of Missing Observations = 100

%[a] is the column percent, i.e., the proportion of each religious group that attended a particular kind of institution.

Table B-XI

KINNAIRD STUDENTS' PREVIOUS EDUCATION:
ESTABLISHED PERIOD, 1929-47

Type of School	Christian		Hindu		Muslim		Sikh		Other		Total Count, All Religions (Previous education known)
	N	%[a]	N	%[a]	N	%[a]	N	%[a]	N	%[a]	N
Lahore, Mission	33	33.1	61	17.7	31	28.7	14	15.7	2	66.7	
Lahore, Non-Mission	4	3.8	140	40.6	15	13.9	20	22.5	0	0	
Private (Studied at home)	10	9.4	49	14.2	17	15.7	13	14.6	0	0	
Mission or Convent, outside Lahore	37	34.9	20	5.8	10	9.3	9	10.1	1	33.3	
East Punjab, non-Mission	12	11.3	30	8.7	9	8.3	9	10.1	0	0	
West Punjab, non-Mission	6	5.7	34	9.9	15	13.9	20	22.5	0	0	
Other	4	3.8	11	3.2	11	10.2	4	4.5	0	0	
Total Each Religion	106	100.0	345	100.1	108	100.0	89	100.0	3	100.0	651

Number of Missing Observations = 688

%[a] is the column percent, i.e., the proportion of each religious group that attended a particular kind of institution.

Table B-XII

KINNAIRD COLLEGE STUDENTS'
AGE AT ADMISSION

Age	Early Period 1913-28		Established Period 1929-47	
	N	%	N	%
Less than 15 years	1	0.8	164	12.7
15-16 years	15	11.4	320	24.7
16-17 years	17	12.9	286	22.1
17-18 years	44	33.3	234	18.1
18-19 years	22	16.7	140	10.8
Over 19 years	33	25.0	150	11.6
Total Students Whose Ages Are Known	132	100.1	1,294	100.0
Missing Cases	73		45	
Total Cases	205		1,339	

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEWS

All interviews with Kinnaird College alumnae and other informants were open-ended, that is, without a detailed questionnaire. I explained to each informant that I was interested in the families that had sent their daughters to Kinnaird College. The interviews centered on five general topics: 1) the alumna's experiences at Kinnaird; 2) her family's educational background; 3) her marriage and employment; 4) her daughters' education and life experiences; and 5) the transmission of religious ideas and practices within her family. Specific details for the alumnae traced can be found in the following tables.

Table C-I

KINNAIRD COLLEGE CHRISTIAN ALUMNAE:
EMPLOYMENT KNOWN

Summary of Christians	Early Period 1913-28		Established Period 1929-47	
	N		N	
Alumnae traced	90		139	
Died while a student	2		5	
Left due to health, or other reason, without finishing either degree	3		46	
Finished one or both degrees; life after college unknown	9		45	
Did not return to college after 1947; life unknown	n.a.		5	
Total Christians enrolled	104		240	
When employment known:	N	%	N	%
Government or municipal board schools	30	77	11	22
Christian schools	7	18	20	44
Other employment	2	5	15	33
Total	39	100	46	100
Unknown	31		52	
Total salaried employment (including taught until marriage)	70		98	

SOURCE: Some of this information is from the Kinnaird College Admissions Register, but the information on alumnae traced is based solely on interviews.

Table C-II

KINNAIRD COLLEGE MUSLIM ALUMNAE:
EMPLOYMENT KNOWN

Summary of Muslims	Early Period 913-28		Established Period 1929-47	
	N		N	
Alumnae Traced	9		93	
Left due to health, or other reason, without finishing either degree	-		46	
Finished one or both degrees; life after college unknown	-		63	
Total Muslims Enrolled	9		202	
When employment known:	N	%	N	%
Government	2	50	14	35
Medicine or law	2	50	2	5
Teaching, Muslim school	0	0	4	10
Teaching, other	0	0	13	33
Other	0	0	7	18
Total	4	100	40	101
Unknown	0		7	
Total Salaried Employment (including taught until marriage)	4		47	

SOURCE: Some of this information is from the Kinnaird College Admissions Register, but the information on alumnae traced is based solely on interviews.

Table C-III

KINNAIRD COLLEGE HINDU ALUMNAE:
EMPLOYMENT KNOWN

Summary of Hindus	Early Period 1913-28		Established Period 1929-47	
	N		N	
Alumnae traced	46		207	
Died while a student	1		3	
Left doe to health, or other reason, without finishing either degree	11		165	
Finished one or both degrees; life after college unknown	7		242	
Did not return to college after 1947; life unknown	n.a.		50	
Total Hindus enrolled	65		240	
When employment known:	N	%	N	%
Government, education	5	33	5	10
Government, other	2	13	10	20
Teaching, sectarian school	3	20	14	29
Business in home	0	0	5	10
Other (medicine, law, journalism, etc.)	5	33	15	31
Total	15	99	49	100
Unknown	1		4	
Total salaried employment (including taught until marriage)	16		53	
Volunteer social work	5		8	
% of those who never worked for a salary		20		18

SOURCE: Some of this information is from the Kinnaird College Admissions Register, but the information on alumnae traced is based solely on interviews.

Table C-IV

KINNAIRD COLLEGE SIKH ALUMNAE:
EMPLOYMENT KNOWN

Summary of Sikhs	Early Period 1913-28		Established Period 1929-47	
	N		N	
Alumnae traced	10		47	
Died while a student	0		1	
Left due to health, or other reason, without finishing either degree	2		53	
Finished one or both degrees; life after college unknown	-		77	
Did not return to college after 1947; life unknown	n.a.		24	
Total Sikhs enrolled	12		202	
When employment known:	N	%	N	%
Education	4	100	3	27
Government	0		2	18
Business	0		1	9
Other	0		5	46
Total	4	100	11	100
Unknown	0		0	
Total salaried employment (including taught until marriage)	4		11	

SOURCE: Some of this information is from the Kinnaird College Admission Register, but the information on alumnae traced is based solely on interviews.

Table D-I
ENGLISH LITERACY AND THE CHRISTIAN POPULATION OF THE PUNJAB: 1911 AND 1931
(WITHIN BRITISH TERRITORY ONLY)

Census Year	Total Population Male	Female	%a	Literate in English Male	Female	%b
1911						
Indian Christians	90,300	72,900	2	1,700	1,100	39
Europeans and Anglo-Indians	25,700	9,200	80	23,300	7,400	24
All Christians within British Territory	116,000	82,100	10	25,000	8,500	25
1931						
Indian Christians	213,600	178,500	3	6,500	5,000	43
Europeans and Anglo-Indians	16,400	6,200	34	8,400	2,100	20
All Christians within British Territory	230,000	184,700	8	14,900	7,100	32

%a Female English literates as a percent of each group's total females.

%b Each group of female English literates as a percent of that group's total English literates.

All figures rounded to nearest hundred, except when female English literates number fewer than 100.

SOURCE: *Census of India, 1911, Vol. XIV: Punjab, Part II, Tables, pp. 109-11; Census of India, 1931, Vol. XVII: Punjab, Part II, Tables, pp. 229-31.*

Table D-II

DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE ENGLISH LITERATES WITHIN THE CHRISTIAN POPULATION OF THE PUNJAB: 1911 AND 1931 (WITHIN BRITISH TERRITORY ONLY)

Census Year	Female English Literates Aged 15-20 Years N	%	Aged 20+ Years N	%
1911				
Indian Christians	230	26	700	12
Europeans and Anglo-Indians	660	74	5,300	88
All Christians within British Territory	890	100	6,000	100
1931				
Indian Christians	800	80	3,400	71
Europeans and Anglo-Indians	200	20	1,400	29
All Christians within British Territory	1,000	100	4,800	100

All figures rounded to nearest hundred, except when female English literates number fewer than 100.

SOURCE: *Census of India, 1911, Vol. XIV: Punjab, Part II, Tables, pp. 109-11; Census of India, 1931, Vol. XVII: Punjab, Part II, Tables, pp. 229-31.*

GLOSSARY

Anglo-Indian. In this period, descendant of European and Indian marriages.

Arora. One of the Hindu commercial castes of the Punjab.

Arya Samaj. The society of the Aryas; an aggressive Hindu religious and social reform society which was particularly strong in the Punjab. Swami Dayanand Saraswati founded the Arya Samaj in 1875 at Bombay.

Ashraf. People who are *sharif* (see *Sharif*).

Burqah. Tent-like garment for concealing Muslim women from view when outside the home.

Bible Woman. Indian Christian hired to read the Bible to women in their homes.

Brahmo Samaj. The society of God; a syncretic Hindu religious and social reform society founded in 1843 Calcutta.

Doli. A covered litter, consisting of a cot or frame suspended by the four corners from a bamboo pole, and carried by two or four men. Girls in purdah were carried to school in this fashion. Also used to carry brides to their husbands' households.

English education. The teaching of Western subjects through the medium of English.

First Arts. *See* Intermediate.

Intermediate. First examination in a university Bachelor of Arts degree course, usually taken after two years of preparation.

Kashmiri Brahmin. Ritually high-status Hindu caste from Kashmir.

Khatri. Hindu (and Sikh) caste; preeminent over other commercial castes; claim of Kshatriya status.

Matriculation. University entrance examination for the Bachelor of Arts degree course.

Normal school. Institution for teachers' training.

Oriental language. One of the classical languages of the Punjab, namely, Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit.

Purdah. Literally "curtain"; the segregation of women from men who are not close relatives (except in some Hindu households).

Saree. Cloth which is wrapped around the body, constituting the main part of a woman's dress in North India. It is not the most common garment in the Punjab, and it is associated with non-Muslim women.

Sayyid. A Muslim lineage that reckons descent from 'Ali.

Sharif. "Noble"; those of honorable descent, usually reckoned from Muhammad, or from his companions, or from immigrant rulers, Mughal or Afghan; an indication of respectability among Muslims.

Vernacular language. One of the indigenous languages of the Punjab, namely, Punjabi, Urdu, and Hindi.

Zanana. The woman's section of the household, separated from the rest by the purdah ("curtain").

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Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore, Pakistan, has preserved its institutional records from the 1920s through the present. In particular, I used the principals' files, containing correspondence to and from the principals. These letters concerned the relationship between the college and the University of the Punjab, as well as the relationships between the college and the various cooperating Christian missions. A great deal of the mission correspondence concerned individual Christian students. In addition, the college records contain several files of correspondence to and from alumnae, usually requests for "character certificates," i.e., letters of reference for further studies or employment. The records room also contains the original admissions register, an alumnae

address book dated 1935, and admissions application forms from the 1930s to the present. See Appendices A and C for information regarding my use of this material. Two manuscripts in the college files were particularly useful:

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